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ABSTRACT

This report presents the proceedings of a conference held by the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Included are transcripts of the opening and welcoming remarks to the conference, a resume of the proceedings of the entire conference, and a series of papers presented, all of which focused on ethnic groups and their participation in the multicultural society of Quebec. In addition, summaries of briefs submitted by ethnic group organizations and of the activities of ten conference workshops (five for community leaders and five for young people) are presented. Finally, the reports, resolutions and recommendations compiled by the workshop participants are detailed. (MK)

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Minister of State
Multiculturalism

Ministre d'Etat
Multiculturalisme

"MULTICULTURALISM

A CANADIAN REALITY"

A REPORT

OF THE

THIRD CANADIAN CONFERENCE

ON MULTICULTURALISM

OCTOBER 27-29, 1978

OTTAWA, ONTARIO

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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Minister of State
Multiculturalism

Ministre d'État
Multiculturalisme

November 21,1979.

Following my appointment as Minister of State for Multiculturalism the report of the Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism was brought to my attention.

Being cognizant of the immense value of consultations such as these held in Ottawa in October of 1978, it is with great pleasure that I now share this report with you.

You may rest assured that this report, the recommendations emanating from the various plenary and workshop sessions as well as the findings and recommendations from all previous CCCM conferences are under careful study.

One of my tasks will be to ensure that the Policy of Multiculturalism endorses the pursuit and expression of ancestral cultural traditions. Cultural pluralism is indeed an inherent factor in our society. We must work together so that the concept of Multiculturalism becomes a full-fledged reality whereby inconsequential differences are put aside and opportunities and responsibilities are equally shared by all Canadians. With your help, these goals will be realized.

Yours sincerely,

Steve E. Paproski

Ottawa K1A 0M5 Ottawa K1A 0M5

Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism
Conseil consultatif canadien du Multiculturalisme

National Chairman
Président national

October 15, 1979.

Honourable Steve E. Paproski, P.C., M.P.
Minister of State for Multiculturalism
House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario

Sir,

Since the inception of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism in 1973, several conferences have been held with ethnocultural leaders and youth across the country. This ongoing dialogue has enabled the CCCM to bring the concerns of the communities to the government's attention.

The latest national meeting of this nature, The Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, was held in October 1978. I am honoured to submit to you a report of this conference which has been prepared by the Council Secretariat.

The Executive and Members of the CCCM are hopeful that this report will prove beneficial to you in effectuating the Policy of Multiculturalism.

Yours sincerely,

Senator Peter Bosa

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INTRODUCTION: Impressions of a Conference

The Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, held under the auspices of the Honourable Norman Cafik and organized through the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, was held from October 27 to 29, 1978, in Ottawa. Some five hundred participants from across the country gathered to exchange views on the theme of "Multiculturalism - a Canadian Reality".

The constitutional status of multiculturalism and jurisdictional barriers frustrating progress have been on the recurrent lists of recommendations addressed to the government since 1971. Unappeased by sporadic dwarf steps, delegates left few subject areas untouched in their claims for a better Canadian society. An uplifting patriotism and a strong feeling of determination were behind their assertive demands for greater participation in the deciding of Canada's future.

The polarity of "hosannah singers and cynics" was less characteristic of this conference than of its 1973 and 1976 predecessors. This may reflect a certain fatigue with academic debate on the desirability of multiculturalism, when the reality of diversity is so patently clear. The premise for multiculturalism was taken as being the just society - an ideal that no reasonable citizen could wish to sabotage. The more provocative questions were: how much of that ideal has been realized? How can it become more integral to the architecture of our country? This emphasis was not programmed into the conference. It was an irrepressible expression of what multiculturalism really means to its most concerned proponents.

Yet another query in the minds of many of the delegates was the future of the multiculturalism policy should the federal

government have new leadership as a result of the forthcoming general election. The opportunity to raise this question came when the then leader of the Official Opposition joined Friday's plenary session while the national ethnocultural organizations were presenting their briefs. Mr. Clark's response affirmed the commitment of his party to "a national policy which recognized and reflected the multicultural reality of the country", and assured the conference participants that "the commitment would remain in place after a change in government".

Formally stated, the conference's purpose was to give prominence to the pluralistic nature of Canadian society. Were this the sole objective against which its effectiveness might be judged, ratings by most delegates would have been dismally low. Indeed, considerable disappointment was expressed that the conference had not been programmed to include greater representation from mainstream anglophone and francophone communities. Such was the case with the 1976 conference when majority views of the policy were given prominence. This segregation carries the danger of luring discussions back to an "us against them" perspective.

Delegates would have wished to conduct a more even-sided dialogue with the larger society from which resistance to their aspirations was seen to emanate. A further diappointment was the nonchalance of the media in their scanty coverage of the conference's events. Apathy and ignorance, adding up to inertia - these attitudes appear to remain intact conference after conference, recommendation after recommendation.

In spite of these shortcomings, however, the conference achieved a degree of success. This can be divined in the prevailing mood which ranged from a subdued, to a fresh and exuberant optimism.

One of the conference's distinguishing features was the participation of some 150 youth delegates aged 16 to 19 years. Their generosity of spirit, and their confidence that the problems baffling their elders could be overcome, had a contagious effect on all. The conference provided a rich opportunity for youth and community leaders to engage in a mutual development of ideas. Although numerous proposals were a by-product of this process, its central product was communication. Communication strengthened the resolve of participants to activate change collectively and to labor for a national conscience transcending particular community allegiances. While delegates were appreciative of the government's recognition of the need for change, nevertheless they realized that the initiative and impetus to effect this change must come from within the ethnocultural communities themselves.

OPENING REMARKS

SPEECH BY SENATOR PETER BOSA

CHAIRMAN OF THE CCCM

DELIVERED AT THE

OPENING SESSION

OF THE

THIRD CANADIAN CONFERENCE ON MULTICULTURALISM

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to the Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism. Your participation here is exciting to see, and I look forward with much eagerness to the views you will be expressing.

I wish to express my appreciation of the opening remarks made by my colleague, the Honourable Norman Cafik. The Minister will have the opportunity of addressing the conference tomorrow, and I am looking forward to his thoughtful statements. At the same time I wish to say, and I know that I express the feelings of the Executive and the Members of the Council, that Mr. Cafik's leadership, his clarity in defining the concept of multiculturalism, and his capacity for hard work, have made a great impact both on the Council and the Canadian community at large. He articulates the principles of multiculturalism eloquently. He is highly respected by his Cabinet colleagues. Thus his stature in Cabinet allows him to receive the necessary support for the implementation of recommendations made by the CCCM.

I voice my sincere hope that these three days of discussion will shed maximum light on the numerous questions revolving around the stated government policy on multiculturalism.

The theme of this Conference as it appears on our program is "Multiculturalism - A Canadian Reality". I feel there should be a question mark after the word 'reality', for we must seriously inquire into the meaning of such a statement. There are people here today from all parts of the country, who are in daily contact with the diverse elements which make up Canadian reality. I do believe, therefore, that we can engage in a meaningful dialogue on that subject. Our immediate motivation and primary concern should be a long range view of the Policy's implementation in the next five years. But to set the basis for a five year projection, we must first scrutinize the past and the present.

Canadians find themselves in the midst of two great debates with origins as old as Confederation. The first deals with constitutional reform, the second with the question of bilingualism and intercultural relationships.

In June 1978, the government introduced Bill C-60 which contained numerous proposals for substantial constitutional amendments. The Bill seeks to repatriate the Constitution. Many Canadians believe that repatriation of our constitution will be the final symbolic act clearly establishing this country's independence.

Should the term multiculturalism appear in the Bill's preamble, or in the newly stated aims of the Confederation? Although Bill C-60 as originally presented has died on the Order Paper, the government has announced that a new Bill will be introduced. The new Bill may be different from the previous one. To what extent should the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism and the delegates become involved in the dialogue on constitutional reform? Should this matter be given thorough consideration at this conference? Does the absence of the word multiculturalism emasculate the policy? Should the cultural rights of our Native people be entrenched in the Constitution?

The second debate also dates back to the time of Confederation, as evidenced by Section 113 of the BNA Act: "Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the Debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada or the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses etc." It was in the British North America Act that the seeds of bilingualism were first planted, and that is where the debate on "unity in diversity" was born.

The evolution of a pluralistic Canadian society has been marked by many strains and stresses. While on several occasions our society seemed on the verge of collapse and disunion, it has survived and endured, and it continues to evolve. Although the intensity of the debates on language and culture fluctuate from decade to decade, they nevertheless have been with us since our infant days as a nation.

Canadians in my age bracket might recall more vividly the intensity of the debate in the late fifties and early sixties. That period was marked by violence and unrest in Quebec. At the time, the question most frequently asked was: "What do French Canadians really want?" They felt they were not partners in confederation. This matter led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which examined the relationships between Canadians of Anglo-Celtic and French backgrounds, and also studied the "contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution".

On October 8, 1971 Prime Minister Trudeau announced in the House of Commons the Policy of Multiculturalism, in response to the Commission's recommendations contained in Book IV. In his speech to the House of Commons, the Prime Minister strongly underlined the fact that Canada is a bilingual country with many different cultures, none of which is more official than the other.

In 1972 the position of Minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism was established. One year later the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was constituted. The CCCM, as it came to be known, consists of approximately 100 persons drawn from a cross section of numerous cultural communities across

Canada. The Council's main objective is to advise the Minister responsible for Multiculturalism on matters which affect all cultural communities throughout Canada, including those of Anglo-Celtic and French origin, and Native peoples.

Since its inception, the CCCM has issued three publications containing its findings and recommendations for consideration by the government.

In its First Annual Report, the Council recommended that the federal government make funds available to relevant provincial departments for the teaching of languages other than English and French. This urgent concern for language retention led to the establishment of the "Cultural Enrichment Program" within the Multiculturalism Directorate. A number of other programs were also launched, such as the "Cultural Integration Program", the "Intercultural Communication Program", the "Canadian Ethnic Studies Program", to mention only a few.

In the past two years, the Council has taken an innovative approach to its consultative role. A major breakthrough was the involvement of youth in the Council's regional hearings. Many such hearings and meetings have been held throughout the country and this conference, in a sense, represents their culmination. Also, in December 1976 we established five standing committees with cross-regional membership to examine specific areas of concern. The greater part of our 1977 Report is based on the findings and deliberations of these standing Committees.

Having accomplished this much, we must now ask ourselves some hard-nosed questions. Do we understand what the

term multiculturalism entails? May I give my understanding of the concept? First of all, one must distinguish between assimilation and integration. Assimilation means the shedding of one's roots to embrace those cultural traits normally associated with others. Integration, on the other hand, means retention of one's particular cultural identity in a unified society based on respect for all diverse cultural elements; the right to be oneself.

Let us not underestimate the notion held by some Canadians, that the most expedient and clear-cut way to unify the country is through assimilation. "Let's all be Canadians", they say. On the surface, this kind of reasoning appears sensible. The question is, whose language and whose culture will prevail?

Fostering the integration principle is wiser and healthier in the long run. "Uniformity", said Professor Northrop Frye, "where everyone belongs, uses the same cliches, thinks alike, and believes alike produces a society which seems comfortable at first, but is totally lacking in human dignity. Real unity tolerates dissent and rejoices in a variety of outlook and tradition".

In my opinion, multiculturalism allows an individual to feel at home in Canada, allows for equality, human dignity and social acceptance. It also provides a climate whereby intercultural acceptance is fostered between groups of different cultural backgrounds. Multiculturalism promotes reciprocal understanding of one another's differences. Such sensitization will surely produce true maturity. We can all be Canadians in a more wholesome way.

Multiculturalism spells individual self-assurance. How can a person achieve it? Can it be by knowing and appreciating

one's cultural background, by seeking to familiarize oneself with the habits and the customs of ethnocultural groups? It must be recognized that cultural roots and a sense of belonging are essential elements of Canadianism; but we must beware of the possibility of creating cultural ghettos.

In what manner can ethnocultural groups achieve a positive self-image and strengthen their cultural identity? Is cultural identity achieved by relying on grants programs, or on educational programs? Should curricula in primary schools not include history textbooks which adequately reflect the contribution of various groups to Canadian reality? In my opinion, this would be the most substantive step towards providing that climate of understanding so essential to a pluralistic society.

Should not the electronic media reflect Canada's cultural pluralism in its programs, rather than sporadically presenting ethnocultural groups in cliché folkloric terms? Should it not be in the forefront of capturing what Professor Frye has called "the most significant social movement of our time", which is "the rise of the small community that coheres around a cultural tradition"? The genuine movement beneath it all, he said, "is a feeling of cultural distinctiveness, and this, I think, will keep breaking down into smaller units as more of the country becomes articulate".

Having given a brief overview of the multiculturalism policy and its programs, I should like to ask you: What impact has this policy made on Canadian society? Does the absence of French-Canadians, in greater numbers, in this dialogue on multiculturalism mean that one-third of Canadians are not supporting this policy? Are the majority of Anglo-Celtic Canadians receptive to the aims of multiculturalism? Are minority groups conscious of the full

implications of multiculturalism, and to what extent do they support them? Is multiculturalism perceived as a mere ploy to pacify and placate ethnics, and is it, therefore, dismissed as irrelevant?

What do we expect from the Multiculturalism programs of the federal government? Orientation? Encouragement? Programs? Grants? In other words, psychological and financial assistance for all those who seek it?

Is the concept of multiculturalism too abstract to be translated into reality? Is multiculturalism seen as nothing more than folkloric manifestations? Is there not a deeper meaning to multiculturalism, one which intimates what I call horizontal and vertical social dynamics? By 'horizontal', I mean to define a certain quality of inter-relation between Canadians; by 'vertical', I mean equality of opportunity for all Canadians to participate in nation building.

Why do so many people say "Let's all be Canadians", not wishing to discuss various cultural backgrounds? Can we achieve cultural identity without referring to ethnicity? Does one have to omit any prior qualifying term in order to be a "good Canadian"?

Since assuming the chairmanship of the Council, I have come face to face with these questions. In the past, the tendency has been to make statements; now, seven years after the enactment of the Policy of Multiculturalism, I believe the time has come for us to address ourselves to these fundamental questions.

It is my hope and fervent wish that, in the next three days we will be able to elicit some plain answers to these crucial questions.

WELCOMING ADDRESS
by Mrs. Monica Matte
Conference Chairperson

Mr. Minister, Senator, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism.

The First Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism took place in 1973. Why did we wait until 1973?

Demographic and historical considerations have replaced the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism resulting from the existence of two founding nations, with another more complex problem resulting from the new relationships and realities created by a continually growing wave of economically and politically motivated immigration, which led to the cultural mosaic we have today.

Over the last century, Canadian society has changed dramatically. In 1871, two million Canadians, or 60 percent of the population, were of British origin; one million, or 31 percent, were of French origin and 250 thousand, or 8 percent, were of other ethnic origins, including the Native peoples, the Eskimos and the Indians. In 1971, the proportions were very different: 44 percent of Canadians were of British origin, 28 percent of French origin and 26 percent of other origins.

The massive immigration which followed the Second World War increased the urgency of establishing a new social contract between Canadian ethnic groups. This change could only make Canadian society, as a whole, better off.

In fact, transmutation and immigration have always been essential elements in human development. Progress and improvement of the human condition - from the invention of the wheel to the development of metalworking, from the introduction of new crops to the launching of satellites - have been the product of interchange and the result of waves of immigration.

It follows then that, far from feeling uneasy about the cosmopolitan nature of our cities, we should remember what became of great metropolises like Alexandria, Constantinople, Vienna, Tangiers and many others when they lost the multiethnic and heterogeneous character which made them dynamic and so ensured their greatness.

Population changes, the resulting tensions and, in particular, the unresolved conflicts between the two founding peoples of Canada appeared serious enough to warrant the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1962. It was only in 1969, when the Commission presented its conclusions, that the seriousness of the existence of three solitudes and the explosive effect that it might have on Canadian unity became common knowledge.

On October 8, 1971, after the passing of the Official Languages Act, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau stated in the House of Commons, "Although there are two official languages, there is no official culture." This represented the recognition of the new sociological reality in Canada.

The Multiculturalism Directorate was created in 1972 and the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism in 1973. Since, then, they have worked with an ever-broadening base toward transforming multiculturalism from a policy into a way of life and a way of thinking for all Canadians.

As for Quebec, the time when all ethnic groups were one homogeneous group with the English seems to be coming to an end. Since the mid-sixties, French Quebecers have no longer considered themselves as a Canadian minority, as they did in the past, but rather as the Quebec majority. With this new definition came a change in their relationships with Quebec minorities, be they of British or other origin. It is this radical change in French Quebecers' self-image and behaviour which has led to the profound changes in the relationships between Quebec's ethnic groups and the Francophone majority. The changes have not always been easy!

French Quebecers are coming to understand that Quebecers of British origin, who represented 20 percent of the province's population in 1871, now constitute less than 11 percent while those of other origins, who represented 1.6 percent, now make up a little more than 9 percent of the population. In addition, they are beginning to realize that even though the members of ethnic groups not so long ago often had to use English as their working language, the majority of them are nevertheless now quite willing to learn and speak French in order to fit in with the Quebec majority. The fact that most of the members of the Quebec delegation at this conference are part of the Francophone community yet still feel comfortable in an Anglophone environment is an example of this.

As the seventies draw to a close, it can definitely be said that a great deal of progress has been made in this decade, for the federal and provincial governments now recognize the importance of the positive contribution made by ethnic groups and the need to help preserve their cultures. There is hope that we are about to break down the invisible wall created by distrust, and the various solitudes at least seem to be discovering each other, though not always valuing each other, as much in Quebec as in the rest of the country.

This Third Conference on Multiculturalism is therefore very important. Not only does it represent a plea for better understanding of the rights of, and the relationships between, the various Canadian ethnic groups; above all, as the study into a new Canadian constitution begins, it seeks to define the standards for this new basic social contract which must ensure peace and cultural, economic and social growth and development for all Canadians.

Your work, suggestions and reports during the three days of this conference will be all the more valuable because the subjects to be discussed in the workshops and in plenary meetings involve seeking answers on how to achieve unity in diversity.

Let us hope that the delegates from Quebec and the other provinces will succeed in explaining the particular situations of the various ethnic groups in their respective provinces, so that we may be able to work together in the interests of Canadian unity.

I wish you all success at this conference and should like to extend a special welcome to the young people who have come.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

RÉSUMÉ OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Following a few opening remarks by the Honourable Norman Cafik, conference co-chairpersons Senator Peter Bosa and Mrs. Monica Matte set the tone of discussions with their respective orientation addresses. In their comments were threads that would be picked up frequently in the three days to come.

The special concern for the Quebec identity and its implications for minorities in that province, was the subject of a panel discussion chaired by Mr. Robert Attar. Panelists Mrs. Thérèse Lavoie-Roux, Mr. Renzo Viero and Rosa Maria DeSousa gave their views of the solitude that characterized ethnic groups in Quebec in the past, and the scope for their fuller accession to participation in the future. Questions from the audience showed much interest in the topic, but discussion was limited by the full agenda.

A luncheon address was given by the Honourable Marc Lalonde, Minister of State for Federal-Provincial Relations. The minister's assurance that the government has no objection to adopting the word "multiculturalism" in any proposed new constitution was received with some relief by conference delegates.

The afternoon session was devoted to the presentation of briefs from 11 national ethnocultural organizations. Presenting on behalf of their respective associations were: 1. Mr. Walter Pinc of the Baltic Federation in Canada; 2. Dr. James Peters of the Canadian Arab Federation; 3. Mr. Harry Daniels of the Native Council of Canada; 4. Mr. Serge Radchuk of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee; 5. Dr. Wladyslaw Gertler of the Canadian Polish Congress; 6. Mr. William Janzen of the Mennonite Central Committee; 7. Mr. Navin Parekh of the National Association of Canadians of

Origins in India; 8. Dr. Wilson Head of the National Black Coalition of Canada; 9. Dr. Laureano Leone of the National Congress of Italian Canadians; 10. Mrs. Addie Kobayashi of the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association; 11. Mr. David Satok of the Canadian Jewish Congress. In their varied viewpoints, the briefs stimulated considerable thought. However, time constraints again precluded a fuller interplay of questions and reactions.

The discussion opportunities lost on Day One were fully regained on Day Two through 10 workshops organized around the various topics already touched on in preceding plenaries.

The five youth workshops were designed to allow a free flow of ideas without the intervention of adult viewpoints. Although resource persons were available to respond to questions, and occasionally to guide proceedings, they maintained a very low profile. The workshops and respective resource persons were: 1. Education - Dr. Ratna Ghosh; 2. Youth Action in Multiculturalism - Mr. Kenneth Fisher; 3. Human Rights - Mr. K. Jeganathan, Dr. Bruce McLeod, Mr. Mark Nakamura; 4. Cross-Cultural Awareness - Mr. J.P. Gagnon; 5. Heritage Languages - Mrs. Bohdanna Horich-Cmoc, Mr. Jesse Flis.

The five community leaders' workshops were designed to highlight a few information packages, which could serve as the launching platform for wider discussion. Their format consisted of presentations by panelists, followed by comments and questions from the floor. The workshops and their respective resource delegates were: 1. Inter-cultural Exchange - A Key to Unity - chaired by Mr. George M. Koutchougoura with panelists Dr. James Frideres, Ms. Anita Kolbuc, Mr. Carl Taylor, Mr. Peter Westaway; 2. The Future of Ethno-Cultural Organizations in Canada - chaired by Mr. Tom O'Leary with panelists Mr. John Fisher, Mr. Terry Mactaggart,

Mr. F. Obljubek, Mr. Roman Petryshyn, Mr. Tran Ba-Viet; 3. Human Rights and Race Relations in Canada - chaired by Professor Mary Sun, Ph.D. with panelists Ms. Suzanne Blais-Grenier, Ms. Jacqueline Jean-Baptiste, Professor Jack Kehoe, Ms. Joya Sen, Mrs. Margaret Strongitharm, Dr. B. Ubale, Professor K. Victor Ujimoto, Ph.D.; 4. Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity - chaired by Professor Cornelius Jaenen with panelists Professor Jean Daigle, Professor René Dionne, Dr. Ronald Haycock, Professor James Miller, Mr. Francis C. Muldoon, A.C., Dr. Henry Radecki; 5. Canadian Pluralism - Media and Education - chaired by Professor R. Rupert with panelists Mr. Ahzar Ali Khan, Dr. J. Kage, Professor J. Lamontagne, Professor Neil McDonald, Mr. L. Tataryn, Mr. Dean Wood.

Day Two's luncheon speaker was Mr. C.V. Keating, President of the Canadian Cable Television Association. In the evening, the Honourable Norman Cafik gave a dinner address, elaborating on his views and concerns as Minister of Multiculturalism.

On Day Three delegates reassembled in a plenary forum to share some of the conclusions reached in their workshop probes. Each group presented a report embodying recommendations. The presentations made by youth delegates drew a special applause for their imaginative and enthusiastic quality.

Frustrations and hopes having received vigorous expression, the conference drew to its end with closing remarks by the Honourable Norman Cafik and co-chairpersons Senator Peter Bosa and Mrs. Monica Matte.

MULTICULTURALISM IN QUEBEC

The sensitive political climate in Quebec has placed and will increasingly place, ethnocultural groups of the province in a peculiar position. Solitude or participation are the choices facing minorities, but the extent to which the latter option is possible remains open to question. As in any arena of uncertainty, misconceptions grow rampant, becoming themselves factors of instability.

The purpose of the panel discussion was to demonstrate that the true picture on either side of the fence is not so bleak as to abandon hope. On the one hand, while English may be the working language of many Canadians in Quebec, the ethnocultural component is flexible on the subject of integration into Quebec society, on its terms. On the other hand, while Quebec's formal stand with respect to its own cultural survival is rooted in a rejection of Anglo-Celtic domination, there is growing recognition of other cultures whose preservation can enrich Quebec identity rather than weaken it. In this tentative rapprochement there may even be a glimmer of hope for national unity, based on acknowledgement of the multicultural principle in Quebec, as in the other provinces of this diverse country.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN QUEBEC

by Mr. Robert Attar, Animator

My dear friends,

This morning, we shall be making a presentation to give you an idea of the current feeling in Quebec.

This presentation should point out that ethnic groups in Quebec are in a situation unlike that of ethnic groups in other provinces. It is true that two peoples founded Canada, but it is also apparent in the current sociological structure of Canada that the other ethnocultural groups, of which we are members, have never put down roots in the French Canadian community as they have done in the English community.

This text, on which we collaborated, was presented to the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. We also informed them that ethnic groups did not find two integrated communities in Quebec into which they would have become integrated. Instead, they found two communities coexisting side by side. English Canada had done little more than accept the presence of French Canada.

A key element in the relations between multiculturalism and bilingualism is, in our opinion, the problem of first and second languages. Only when every Canadian accepts that in addition to his first language, people in his country speak a second language, French or English depending on the province, can the values of other cultures be maintained. To keep multiculturalism from being identified with either the French or the English community, these two communities must achieve, in their own minds and in the eyes of the world, equal status as founding communities.

In the course of our very important opening session my fellow Canadian citizens from Quebec will attempt to clarify, on the basis of their personal experiences, the dilemma which this situation poses for ethnic groups in Quebec, which have a clear choice to make between participation and solitude.

Thank you.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN QUEBEC: GHETTOIZATION OR PARTICIPATION

by Thérèse Lavoie-Roux

We cannot deal with the problem of ethnic group participation in Quebec life without first looking, if only briefly, at the history of immigration to Quebec and the role the Quebec government has played in this area.

First let us remember that in only two decades in this century has Canada seen large-scale immigration: 1901-11 and 1951-61. Immigration was high during periods of rapid economic growth and slowed down during periods of stagnation and economic crisis. However, even during times when immigration was on the increase, the government and the population at large took little interest in it. This was partly because the birth rate among French-Canadians was high, and partly because immigrants were being assimilated to some extent through mixed marriages and through the humanitarian efforts of the clergy and of private citizens and organizations.

After the Second World War, some prominent individuals began to express concern about the lack of any significant French-Canadian influence on immigration, and during the fifties pressure groups began to agitate for a Quebec immigration policy. In 1955, the Immigrant Assistance Society pointed out in its annual report the almost total indifference of the government, and of French-Canadians in Quebec generally, in the matter of immigration, and it showed that this attitude would sooner or later pose a threat to French-Canadian survival. But interest was now growing and with it an awareness of the problems of immigrants and a clearer understanding of Francophone attitudes toward them. The Prometheus Society, in a brief to the Quebec government in 1969, summed up the attitude of Quebecers of long standing: "It must be admitted that

the integration of immigrants into French-Canadian society was always a problem because it was a more or less closed society in which the problems of French-Canadian survival eclipsed all other concerns".

The denominational nature of the Quebec school system and of most other institutions did not exactly facilitate integration. In 1961, more than half the immigrants were non-Catholic, yet in the popular mind a "Canadien" was someone who was Catholic and Francophone, while an "Anglais" was someone who was Protestant and Anglophone: Quebec was still perceived as a society with just two ethnic groups. People seemed unaware that it had become a multicultural society as a result of the large-scale immigration between 1951 and 1961. And almost all the immigrants had decided to settle in the Montreal region, which was at the same time trying to deal with the problems arising from rapid urbanization and from a massive influx of population from other parts of the province during and after the war.

It was not until August 1966 that the government established an Immigration Branch, followed in November 1968 by an Immigration Act and the creation of a Ministry of Immigration.

This then is the historical background against which we must see the difficulties citizens of other ethnic groups have had and continue to have participating in the life of the society they have chosen to settle in.

Until recently, immigration represented a threat to French-Canadians. The Gendron Report on the status of the French language in Quebec says: "Since French Canadians have not been in

control of their economy and since they have not felt the need to increase their numbers though immigration, they have not given thought to its demographic effects. Thus, as is easily understandable, there are not only negative attitudes but also a lack of experience with immigrants, with their integration and with related legislation. Immigrants arriving in Quebec have found two societies accustomed to living side by side each with its own institutions, in isolation from each other. Immigrants have to adapt to this situation, often by creating their own institutions and thus bringing into being in Montreal a third solitude".

In these circumstances, we may ask, to what extent have the ethnic groups been participating in Quebec life? There is a temptation to answer that they have not. But the fact is that, despite unfavourable conditions, they have made a large contribution in the economic field. Between 1951 and 1974, immigrant workers made up 22% of the increase in the working population in Quebec. Between 1968 and 1975, 3,000 immigrant businessmen took up residence in Quebec, investing a total of some $220 million.

In the social and cultural field, the results are not so easily quantifiable. It can nevertheless be said that not only have the ethnic groups enriched us with their skills and talents but also they have always been and continue to be bearers of those fundamental human social values that lie behind social progress: courage, perseverance, initiative, creativity, mutual assistance and respect for familial, cultural and religious traditions and values.

In politics, participation by immigrants has been less. Francophones kept politics as their private preserve at least until the Quiet Revolution, because this was the only place they could

exercise real power as a result of their numerical majority. But even here, ethnic groups made a breakthrough in the sixties, with the election to the National Assembly of representatives of the Jewish and Italian communities like Goldbloom, Ciaccia and Blank. Nowadays, more and more members of these groups are standing for and being elected to school boards and municipal councils.

It would take a long time to list all the members of ethnic communities who have come forward in all spheres of life despite the closed, often indifferent and sometimes hostile attitude of Francophone Quebecers toward them: Dimakopoulos, Kattan, Gurick, Rummilly, Selye, Turini, Molinari -- these names show that the ethnic communities have fully taken on their responsibilities as new Canadians and new Quebecers. In the normal course of events, their role in Quebec life should have gone on growing.

But what happened is that at the very moment when Quebecers seemed to be growing more aware of their responsibility toward new citizens, there appeared a malaise among the ethnic groups, a new type of insecurity unrelated to their status as immigrants or new Quebecers. This malaise stemmed from the political role they were being made to play in the quest for a new linguistic balance of forces in Quebec. Francophones, impatient and even intolerant, made the ethnic groups bear the brunt of the problems arising from this quest.

In the confrontation between the two main language groups, the ethnic groups came to feel like a political football. And then on top of this there appeared a new and even more serious confrontation, over the future of Quebec. Where previously the debate was mainly between Francophones and Anglophones, it is now a debate among Francophones and once again, because of their large

numbers, members of ethnic groups are caught in a ticklish political situation. They cannot help but be wary of all the attention they are suddenly getting from both sides of the debate on the future of Quebec.

What will be the result? Will the role of ethnic groups, which despite difficulties has now established itself, be reduced through attempts to use them as pawns in the debate on Quebec's future? It is to be hoped that, being citizens with full rights (as everyone is tirelessly repeating), they will feel they can act freely without being subject to undue pressures in the form of more or less subtle manifestations of intolerance.

To conclude, I would add that it is up to Quebecers of long standing to avoid pushing the ethnic groups into a ghetto. And I would like to point out here that there is a tendency to confuse ghettoization with efforts on the part of ethnic groups to maintain their traditions, language and values by setting up their own social and cultural organizations. Actually, it is to the extent that we support these efforts that ethnic participation in Quebec life will be a positive and creative force for Quebec and for Canada.

To answer the original question about ghettoization versus participation, I would say that the ethnic groups are already committed to the latter path and that many of them are already well on the way in this direction, to judge by their contributions in all fields and their efforts to understand Quebec better, hard though this may sometimes be.

They will be able to travel all the way down this road if they are helped to participate in the work of government agencies, commissions of inquiry, working groups and consultative

bodies of all kinds. I believe that the richness of Quebec and of Canada stems in large measure from a great cultural diversity which has made possible, though not without difficulties, the creation of a unique society here. If every Quebecer realizes that every citizen, no matter what his origin, is an equally valuable person contributing to the fabric of a free, creative society, then the potential of ethnic groups will be put to maximum use.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN QUEBEC: PARTICIPATION OR SOLITUDE

by Rosa Maria DeSousa

It gives me great pleasure to share with you today my experiences in Canada. First, I wish to thank all those who encouraged me to participate in this conference and who made it possible.

I am firmly convince that through this meeting you and I will develop a better understanding of the role we must play to enable each cultural group in Quebec and the other provinces of Canada to takes its place and participate fully in the creation of a bilingual and multicultural Canada.

These exchanges are important because they allow us to meet one another, express our views and determine how to develop positive attitudes toward the ethnic element of our society.

Further, I hope that through this plenary session, you will better understand the feelings of Quebec's young people so that we can begin to identify problems, determine our common interests and possibly combine our ideas to bring about necessary changes.

Since I live in Quebec, a province of great ethnocultural diversity, I am in a position, whether working or studying, to experience the anxieties, hopes, fears and dreams of others. I have often wondered how well we know one another and one another's culture.

In Quebec, we are preoccupied with the language issue; but this is simply one aspect of the larger issue. We have recognized the French fact; now we must transcend the language issue.

Portuguese Canadians complain that most Canadians know nothing of their history, their culture, their communities. Some Canadians think Portuguese people speak Italian or Spanish or even a foreign dialect.

This often creates feelings of inferiority, leading to frustrations peculiar to nearly all minority groups because, for most of us, our mother tongue is a source of pride and identity of which Canadians are unaware.

Most Canadians are not even aware of the contributions made by a variety of ethnic groups when Canada was first being explored.

At this point I would like to refer to a short statement made to us by Mr. Alex K. Patterson at the last Quebec minorities conference, held last May at Concordia University.

He holds that once a group of people have agreed to meet, talk things over and get to know one another in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding, they have taken a great step forward toward understanding one another. And this is what we are doing today.

This doubtless fosters better understanding and helps to bring together ethnic and non-ethnic communities, in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Today, I thought it would be useful to introduce you to our community, one most of you are already slightly familiar with: the Portuguese community.

The first large wave of immigration took place in 1952, at a time when Canada was anxious to develop its farm land.

Attracted by the economic opportunities this new country offered, many families, mostly from rural areas, came here to live. Quebec's attraction for them lay in the fact that many Portuguese people already spoke a bit of French, which they had learned at school or while working in European countries.

As is often true of Europeans, the man left his family and village and came alone to establish himself in the new land. Having arrived, he worked to make enough money to create his place in the sun and send for his family. Portuguese social life is built around the family. This is still true today since through the Portuguese language the family remains the sole tie with the values and traditions of their native land. Most Portuguese people still prefer to read, shop and socialize in Portuguese.

In the past Portuguese Canadians did not consider formal education to be very important in helping them adjust to Canadian society. Nevertheless, this attitude has been changing. Portuguese young people, like those from other ethnic groups, now realize they are full-fledged citizens and that the need to further their education is essential to making a better life for themselves.

Parents of first-generation Portuguese Canadians feared their children would lose their native language and culture. In response to their concern and the great demand, the first Portuguese language courses were set up in Montreal in 1958. These courses were offered by the Portuguese Association of Canada. At that time only the children of members of the Association could take advantage of the courses.

It was not until 1971 that the Santa Cruz Church opened its doors to all Portuguese children who wished to take courses in

Portuguese language, history and culture on Saturday mornings.

Enthusiastic and anxious to know more about my origins, I registered in the courses.

During my first year at the Santa Cruz school my pride in my language and culture began to take shape.

We became familiar with the great 16th century Portuguese poet, Luis Vaz De Camoes (author of "Os Lusiados" (The Portuguese)), Vasco Da Gama, the famous navigator, and a number of other ancestors who had shaped our history.

I also became aware of important contributions they had made, contributions which had not been brought to my attention during my regular schooling.

Later it became clear to me that it would be impossible for young people to assimilate their culture without major changes in the system of education.

By creating an open atmosphere and programs which make interchange between different cultures possible and foster awareness of the cultural heritage of each, many stereotypes could be eliminated.

My mother tongue was a valuable tool for furthering my understanding of my cultural heritage.

I consider language courses to be of vital importance if we wish to feel part of a multicultural nation.

It is equally important that we familiarize our parents

with the Canadian reality. It is more difficult for immigrant parents to adjust to this reality than it is for their children.

Adjustment problems are not the exclusive property of immigrants. All Canadians share in them.

We can create programs to help us get to know one another. There is still much to be done to enrich their content. The media influence our daily lives. Couldn't they be used to influence or foster every Canadian's adjustment to the reality of multiculturalism?

After completing my language course at the Santa Cruz school, I began research on the status of minorities in Quebec. Having become aware of minorities' problems, I became a community organizer in the Portuguese community. Consequently I had the opportunity to meet other Portuguese people as well as Canadians from other cultures with whom I was able to share my views and interests.

Together we organized multicultural rallies to promote solidarity among Quebec minorities. Most of these ventures met with success.

I recall having done a broadcast on "Radio Centreville" to inform the Portuguese community of services to which they were entitled.

My work with young people made me realize that a number of them belonged to a generation in transition, caught between the customs of the Old Country handed down to us by our parents and the Canadian way of life which we were living. This puts my generation in a dynamic position, and I believe it is highly desirable that

this continue. We must develop ways of sharing both cultures to enable future generations to be fully Canadian while preserving a cultural heritage of which they will be proud.

Those of us participating in this conference and the workshops share the belief that our cultural values must be preserved.

To achieve our goals we must interest as many people as possible in them. Hundreds of Canadian young people across Quebec and in other provinces are active participants in associations which seek to develop tolerance and understanding of the unique cultural values of the various peoples who constitute Canada. I have not come here solely to discuss the problems faced by minorities in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

I want to make sure that we, as young Canadians, will be able to preserve our distinctive cultural characteristics and better yet, that we will be able to join forces with the majority in an effort to build a multicultural Canada.

Canada is our future. Thus, in the spirit of mutual interest and friendship which has brought us together here this morning, I invite you to search for possible solutions to the problem of promoting multiculturalism across Canada, and I hope that at the end of this conference we will leave with the desire to continue to share our concerns to our mutual benefit and that of all Canadians.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN QUEBEC: PARTICIPATION OR SOLITUDE

by Mr. Renzo Viero
Chairman of the National Congress of
Italian-Canadians (Quebec Region)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The theme chosen for this third Canadian conference on Multiculturalism is neither surprising nor one which will provoke controversy: Multiculturalism - A Canadian Reality. What could be more obvious? In 1971, when Prime Minister Trudeau decided to announce his policy on multiculturalism, he officially recognized a fact which, until then, Canadians themselves had attached little importance to.

We would have to be blind not to realize that in this country nearly one-third of the population is neither French nor Anglo-Saxon in origin. Do we, the general populace, know the composition of this one-third that is of special interest to us today? Do we know that more than 60 ethnocultural groups live side by side with the two founding nations, and that our group, with more than one million citizens of Italian origin, is the fourth largest group?

I did say live side by side. Is it a coexistence which may be termed serene and peaceful or stormy? Is there cooperation in the affairs of everyday life or painful isolation? Such questions bring me to my topic: participation or solitude. Ideally, each member of this one-third of the population should feel like a true Canadian citizen. In reality, though, how is he viewed by his English-speaking neighbour or his French-speaking employer?

As a representative of the Italian community in Quebec, I am going to speak to you about the situation with which I

am most familiar, namely, the situation in the Province of Quebec. Permit me to share with you a few remarks taken from a document written by the Consultative Committee on Immigration which appeared last December" ... Ethnic communities ... unable to be a serious, competent and representative party to a dialogue with the government ... have the distinct impression of being kept out of the mainstream and are afraid of becoming the "third solitude". And the centralizing tendencies of the governments, federal as well as provincial, are only better served by the general disinterest of Quebec society as regards immigration and ethnic groups, since Quebecers are ignorant about immigration and their government authorities act like autocrats, caring little about informing or consulting the people or encouraging their participation..."[1]

The least one can say is that these remarks are not kind. Yet, they are not the remarks of extremists or long-haired protesters, but rather the opinions expressed by some 500 participants representing 200 associations of around 40 ethnic groups at a symposium of the Consultative Committee on Immigration in the summer of 1977.

I mentioned the expression third solitude. This expression is not new; it became popular in 1972 when the Report of the Gendron Commission was published. The third volume of the Gendron report has this to say about our community: "... Their attitude prevents them from completely identifying with either majority ethnic group in Quebec and makes them a third solitude..."

Have we progressed since the Report of the Gendron Commission? Very little, if any, judging by the demands voiced at the symposium of the Consultative Committee on Immigration five years later!

[1]Quebec Monde, No 26 February 1978
Direction des Communications, Ministère de l'immigration du Québec

This solitude in which we struggle is not entirely our fault. It may be explained historically. The Quebec in which we chose to live itself experienced a tragic isolation after the Conquest of 1760. The French community, which was mainly rural at that time, became inward-looking and developed an instinct for preservation and self-defence which took the form of a negative attitude toward foreigners. This period they term "la survivance"; it was a time of xenophobia, perhaps unconscious, but nonetheless a strong force.

We too have experienced a period of survival. Although more recent than that of our French Canadian countrymen, it was no less difficult. We need only think of the immigration of Italian families to Canada at the end of the last century. They had to cope with every kind of hostility. It is not hard to imagine their daily struggle to survive.

Following the Second World War, from approximately 1945 to 1965, and markedly between the years 1951 and 1961, a second wave of Italian immigration occurred. At this time, life was easier in an economic sense, and thought was given to ensuring collective survival. The number of Italian associations which were formed bear witness to this.

O survival! how many crimes do we commit in thy name...

I do not propose to dwell on a painful memory, but the St. Léonard conflict in 1968 was above all a question of survival in one form or another. The Report of the Gendron Commission summarized the situation perfectly when it stated: "St. Léonard reflects the conflict caused by two different ideas of survival." For French Canadians, it was a question of preserving their linguistic and cultural community; for the other groups, it involved the socioeconomic advancement of their children and the right to ensure this, which is another form of survival."

Henceforth, our community became a centre of interest to Quebecers. We had become a powerful group in ourselves; Quebecers began to take notice of us as an organized community, but without reaching out to us.

In the sadly remembered St. Léonard Affair, which was strictly a cultural problem from the outset, I do not hesitate to say that our community served as a scapegoat in the quarrel between Francophones and Anglophones. I consider this role offensive to our human dignity. We do not wish to be a hostage of the two majority groups.

Each of these groups would like to see us assimilated and culturally integrated. This is unthinkable. Certainly we are Canadians, but we wish to preserve our Italian heritage which has been our greatest resource.

I agree with Professor Yvan Bordeleau when he states: "... Immigrants and French Canadians must share common values, show similar deportment in the most functional sectors of life. But, French Canadians must also accept the fact that these immigrants wish to preserve the values which are important to them..." I do not agree with him though when he says: "...Undoubtedly the tendency to form ethnic ghettos will decrease and closer contact ... will be promoted."[1]

There is the major accusation! While geographically, certain quarters of Montreal have a rather concentrated ethnic population, to speak of a ghetto is untrue.

[1]"Pour une conception plus réaliste du processus de l'intégration des immigrants", Montreal 1976

We must go back several years to find the cause of this grouping together of Italian families. The immigrants who came during the second major period of immigration, from the post-war years until 1965, were neither rich nor educated. Their only resource being their spiritual values, and speaking neither one of the two official languages, there was only one way to cope with the innumerable difficulties they faced: grouping together. It was for reasons of security, mutual aid and strict necessity, and not to be provocative, that the Italians tried to reconstruct a little of their homeland here, while waiting to be accepted by native-born Canadians.

But, this acceptance is slow in coming. Who must take the initial steps? How do we bring together the groups in this time of mistrust when the immigrant is accused of being responsible for the economic ills of the country, although he himself is a victim of these ills? There is an admirable, but tragically true expression which summarizes the relations between native-born Quebecers and Quebecers by adoption: Professor Paul Cappon speaks of the "zones of silence".[1]

If only this silence could speak! How many conflicts, superiority and inferiority complexes, situations of welcome withheld, scorn and competition does it not hide?

And what does silence engender, if not solitude?

If today we are witnessing a counter-immigration movement, it is not for economic reasons, but rather because of the solitude which is undermining the morale of these people who

[1]"Conflicts entre les Néo-Canadiens et Francophones de Montréal", 1974

arrived full of hope, and who ask nothing more than to be accepted.

Isolation, incomprehension, one-way participation, mutual misunderstanding - in such a climate, it is not surprising that we, the third force, pitifully wander through the maze of the "third solitude".

Nevertheless, we are willing and most eager to participate in the life of this country. We have proved it before in all areas. Unfortunately our participation is one-way. The label "immigrant" that we carry like a stone around our necks brands us as second-class citizens.

Yet, who will dare deny the part played by Italians in the socioeconomic success of Quebec and Canada? Everywhere that great things have been accomplished, projects on an international scale realized such as Expo '67, Place Ville Marie, the Tour de la Bourse, James Bay, the 1976 Olympic Games, and so on, there were Italians who left their mark.

Doctors, lawyers and notaries of Italian origin uphold their professions with dignity. It would be interesting, however, to note the number of clients of other than Italian origin. Do they not inspire confidence in Anglophones and Francophones? Since a person does not choose the judge before whom he appears, our judges are entitled to a more diversified clientele!

It would also be curious to note the number of senior federal government employees who are of Italian origin: a few perhaps. We deeply regret the fact that there are so few Italians in the federal government, the Public Service, commissions of enquiry, in short, positions at all levels which our million citizens should be entitled to fill. Are Italians less competent than others?

Fortunately, we have two representatives in the Senate, one of whom, Senator Peter Bosa, is Chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism.

This brings me back to my starting point: Multiculturalism, A Canadian Reality. What does this mean? In principle, we understand it as peaceful coexistence in cultural diversity. What seems to be a simple formula encounters many difficulties when we try to apply it. The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism recognized in its 1977 report that it is not easy to promote cultural diversity and its acceptance and, in its view, the government should take the initial steps.

Acceptance by the public is the major obstacle. The public, namely native-born Canadians, force us back, despite our efforts, into this solitude we wish to escape. The Honourable Minister Norman Cafik at the Multicultural Conference on Canadian Unity, held in Toronto last April 21 said, and I quote, "... We do not encourage the formation of cultural ghettos, the hardening of solitudes in Canada. We proclaim our basic faith in liberty and our unshakeable confidence in an integrated Canadian society..." Despite this statement, we see very little change in the approach to the problem.

Multiculturalism: Mutual comprehension or a ferment of dissension? We heartily agree that all Canadians have contributed equally to building this country. But, I doubt that the other two-thirds of the country would agree as readily. It is difficult for Canadians to acknowledge that they are dependent upon their fellow countrymen of a different culture when they themselves are frustrated and dissatisfied with the present system.

The policy of multiculturalism may open the eyes of some xenophobes but, even with the best intentions, it cannot force the indifferent to be uderstanding and friendly. I would like to convey to you an opinion which is critical but true. Father Silvano Tomasi, an expert in immigration, was quoted in an interview by an Italian newspaper in Toronto as saying: "... The expression "multiculturalism" is still too vague and general. The term makes us suspect that it is of more use to the federal and provincial governments than to the immigrants themselves ... Government policies in this regard are certainly directed toward the promotion of national development..."[1]

National development is a noble goal. However, it seems to me that only a certain group of privileged people, from which the Italians are excluded, are allowed to participate in this goal. Only when a national election is held are Italians remembered. Then, they court us, shower us with promises, only to leave us again to our isolation once the polling booths are closed.

In my view, the federal government does not give our community the consideration we are entitled to nor the treatment we deserve. We wish to be something other than voting machines.

We wish to be consulted during the great political debates, and participate, like other Canadians, in the decision-making process.

The federal government has a strong sense of duty. It is so obvious when we are given a slice of the multicultural pie and its crumbs give us indigestion.

[1]Corriere Canadese, Toronto, December 31, 1977

Our sense of belonging to the Canadian collectivity is great: our efforts and our contributions have shown this. But if this feeling of neglect continues, this lack of communication may blunt our collective consciousness. We are as concerned as the others: then why should we not be listened to like the others and our abilities recognized at all levels?

In a speech to the Ukrainian community last December 8, Mr. Cafik declared that "...The cultural pluralism of Canada has become an inviolable part of our multiculturalism policy..."

I am at once tempted to compare Canada to a precious stone, a diamond for example, of which we, the ethnic groups, are the numerous facets. The jeweller cuts us, polishes us, makes us sparkle, without noticing that the mounting is weak. On the surface it shines, but the gem lacks a solid base. Unlike Italy, the nucleus, the social consciousness, the "molecular spirit of unity" are absent.

What must be done to rally our social consciousness? In my opinion, multiculturalism is leading us astray.

Instead of implementing assistance programs for ethnic groups which are inward-looking, in other words, cultivating their heritage in a closed environment, it would be preferable to promote an outward projection. Evenings of folklore are not the answer.

How does multiculturalism promote the teaching of their mother tongue among New Canadians? Instead of seeking to give recognition to his third language in a spirit of reconciliation as in Quebec, I feel that the federal government exploits the language. We speak Italian at home, but that does not lead anywhere.

As for the ethnic media, what is their circulation among native-born Canadians? Nil: People are not even aware they exist. While multiculturalism programs should encourage the media to become the link between all Canadians, everything continues to be done at the level of the individual ethnic communities. Communication is leading nowhere.

It is an empty policy. Instead of being the craftsman knitting together the forces, instead of weaving a garment that every Canadian would be proud to wear, instead of promoting a true sense of belonging to this country, multiculturalism emphasizes our solitude.

It should, on the contrary, provide us with means to achieve mutual acceptance, to express ourselves and join the others by knocking down the wall of solitude around us and to stand up for us if necessary.

I repeat, we are true citizens.

It is up to you to prove this to us.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS' BRIEFS

The national organizations invited to present briefs at the conference are but a sampling of existing associations throughout the country. These bodies enjoy a large membership and have come into existence for reasons that may differ in their particularities, but are congruous in their generalities. With the possible exception of the Native Council of Canada, multiculturalism represents for them a social dimension favorable to their individual aspirations. Their commitment to multiculturalism is therefore genuine. Their vested interest in the promotion of that policy implicitly recognizes not only the rights or privileges that accrue but also the reciprocal obligations. This attitude of fellowship is reflected in the fact that most of the briefs extrapolated from their own experiences to articulate proposals for the benefit of others with similar concerns.

On the most general level, the briefs called for a significant and aggressive program to propagate among the public the fact that multiculturalism is a state policy ... and as such, should receive public support."[1] Moreover, the briefs were adamant in their plea that multiculturalism and its partner, the Bill of Rights, be given explicit mention in the constitution as prominent features of Canada's citizenry and its collective moral fibre. Consistent with this was a firm rejection of the two founding nations principle, which was seen to militate against recognition of the multicultural past, present and future.

"It is extremely arrogant to suggest that the Native peoples were not involved in the founding of Canada ... Canada is a land of

[1] Canadian Jewish Congress

immigrants and they have come from all parts of the world, not just from France and England".[1]

The rejection of this stubborn allusion, however, was decidedly not a rejection of the French fact. Several briefs recognized that "the strenuous defence put up by French Canadians for their language and culture paved the way to official acceptance of the concept of a multicultural Canada."[2] That recognition went hand in hand with the acceptance of a special status for the French language. "By the circumstances of the birth of our nation, we are endowed with two official languages for the nation. We, of an ethnic origin not of either of these official languages, accept this as a fact of life and are not about to advocate a multilingual nation. On the contrary, we rejoice in this heritage which has given us the two great languages of the world".[3]

"Enunciation of policies and enshrinement of principles in the constitution is one thing; effective implementation of policies and realization of constitutional rights is another."[4] Seeing the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism as a chief instrument for the policy's promotion, many briefs criticized the ineffectiveness to which it is condemned by its present mandate, structure and composition. Numerous specific proposals were put forward, but the one overriding concern was that members be chosen and nominated in consultation with the ethnocultural communities. "A member of the CCCM should be familiar with the aspirations and views of his ethnocultural group, holding the full confidence of his group and representing not his personal opinions but those of

[1] Native Council of Canada
[2] National Congress of Italian Canadians
[3] National Japanese Citizens Association
[4] National Association of Canadians of Origins in India

his group."[1] Furthermore, there was a feeling that the present membership is too partisan in favour of the government. "To regain its former credibility, the CCCM must include members selected by the communities represented, irrespective of their individual party affiliations."[2]

Moving deeper into the government fabric, a number of briefs called for greater representation of ethnic groups on public boards and commissions. "We are all Canadians no matter what our origin and we all should be able to participate through our able and proper representatives in any decision-making or advisory board or commission, federal and for that matter provincial, whose actions will shape or influence the future of this country."[3] Going a step further, visible minorities recommended "the initiation of affirmative action programs designed to provide equality of opportunity to qualified members of visible minority groups. To reassure minority groups of their place in society, it is essential that members of these groups be placed at sufficiently high levels in the decision-making apparatus of governments and public bodies. There must be a deliberate effort to achieve this goal. It cannot be left to chance."[4]

Education, a traditionally sore point, was the subject of a wide range of broad and specific recommendations. These spanned everything from multicultural curriculum, teacher training and textbook revision to third language education within the regular school system and accreditation of heritage languages for university admission. "It cannot be denied that there is a real

1 Canadian Polish Congress

2 National Congress of Italian Canadians

3 Canadian Polish Congress

4 National Association of Canadians of Origins in India

need to coordinate and monitor the activities of various jurisdictions as they pertain to multicultural education. It is recommended that the CCCM establish a special committee to study school education systems across the country."[1]

No less urgent was the prodding of media cooperation in advancing the objectives of multiculturalism. "There is a major responsibility on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, it being a publicly-owned corporation. It cannot be allowed to flout its social and moral responsibility. The CCCM should be empowered to have input into the formulation and implementation of the policies and programs of the CBC. The CCCM should establish a committee specifically to deal with this subject. As for private owners and operators of broadcast media, the CRTC should be required to investigate complaints of prejudicial and damaging broadcasting. As for the print media, the CCCM Committee referred to above should refer news and articles considered biased by any ethnic group to the owners/editors of the newspaper or journal concerned."[2]

The foregoing statement represents the areas of unanimous or near-unanimous consensus with respect to the priorities that multiculturalism should have in the next five years. The following excerpts are meant to supplement those views, in some cases highlighting points of particular concern to the individual organizations.

1. The Baltic Federation in Canada is a national umbrella organization coordinating the common activities of the Estonian Central Council, the Latvian National Federation, and the Lithuanian Canadian Community, all of which are nationwide, central organizations

1 National Association of Canadians of Origins in India

2 Ibid

representing Canadians of the above-mentioned Baltic backgrounds. It has been in existence for approximately 20 years.

"The Baltic communities in Canada espouse one primary goal - the survival as a recognizable ethnic entity in the West and in their occupied homelands. Canada, the U.S.A. and other Western countries do not recognize the illegal occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. The Balts in Canada are therefore in a unique position. Having become fully participating Canadian citizens, they still actively support efforts to free their respective homelands. That is the theme that is evident at every function, at every gathering."

2. The Canadian Arab Federation, founded in 1967, has a membership of approximately 40 groups across the country, representing about 800 persons.

"We understand that it is not an easy matter to identify all the causes of racism, nor to remedy them when found. But as endemic victims of racism, we believe that there are highly "respectable" sources of racism to which the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism could address itself. The newspapers are purveyors of anti-Arab racist materials in the articles, editorials, political cartoons and even in the comic strips. The TV networks in Toronto, whether in domestic productions (Separation) or in their purveyance of U.S. programs (Network and all the regular police dramas) portray the Arab either as a sinister financial threat to the West, or as a terrorist bent on blowing something up."

"Where there are many peoples and many cultures, there are bound to be political differences among some of the groups. It may be regrettable to import far away quarrels into the country but

it is inevitable. And there are bound to be quarrels within the bosom of groups themselves - political, religious or factional. In all of this potential bickering, our governments and our bureaucracies must adopt a completely neutral stance not only within our state, but in its relations abroad with countries of origin".

3. The Native Council of Canada represents 750,000 - 1,000,000 Métis and Indians not protected by the Indian Act.

"While the Métis political leadership must vigorously oppose the federal government's policy of multiculturalism which relegates a Native and national minority such as the Métis to ethnic status within the so-called Canadian mosaic, the Métis are not opposed to multiculturalism in principle. In fact the Métis are pioneers of multiculturalism!"

"However, we believe that the official policy of multiculturalism suppresses the aspirations and hopes of Métis people. It continues to feed us the "two-founding nations" myth while tossing in Ukrainian Easter eggs, Italian grapes, or Métis bannock for extra flavour. It ignores the fact that the Métis are the only charter group in Canada with a history of national political independence before joining Confederation. Nor does it account for the belief of Métis and Indian people that our aboriginal identity and heritage constitute a special claim on the state. It implies that different ethnic groups should coexist with mutual respect within the mainstream of society while ignoring the fact that Métis are a national and indigenous people, not an ethnic group, largely outside of the mainstream of society."

4. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, founded 37 years ago, acts as a spokesman for Ukrainian Canadians throughout the country and

coordinates cultural and social activities through 28 member organizations and 45 local Ukrainian Canadian Committee branches.

"Within the principle of maintaining distinct ethnic cultures, government financial support in the future should be provided predominantly for those continuing programs which are viable and essential for the continuation of the culture. These might include the teaching of unofficial languages, publications for language and social studies (especially for schools), and the development of music, theatre, ballet, museums, and galleries."

5. The Canadian Polish Congress is an umbrella body uniting approximately 165 various organizations throughout the country.

"Each province should have the power and statutory facilities to carry a full and unobstructed development of its cultural values. The Canadian people, and particularly the ethnocultural groups, should have full support from federal and provincial governments to retain and build up their ethnic culture, the mother language included. This multicultural policy should be facilitated by maintaining ministers heading the proper multicultural departments at all levels of government not only federal but also provincial."

"Also, in our opinion, there should be an Interethnic Research Institute created on the federal level, funded by the Department of the Minister of State for Multiculturalism and affiliated with one of the main Canadian universities. The tasks and aims of this institution would be to engage in the study of all aspects of ethnicity in Canada, and it should eventually be privileged to grant post-graduate degrees."

6. The Mennonite Central Committee (Canada) is the national agency of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Churches. It was organized

more than 50 years ago and comprises a total adult membership of 88,000.

"The history of our people began in the social fragmentation of Europe some 450 years ago. Our forebears separated themselves from the institutions of ecclesiastical and political power, at great personal sacrifice, and sought among other things, to establish communities where people would be responsible to one another and would care for each other in the tangible areas of life."

"Our subsequent history reflects this orientation. It has taken us through many countries, but almost always we have lived in communities somewhat separate from the larger society. We have had our own institutions for government, for education, for holding land, for making economic transactions, for caring for the aged, the weak and the handicapped etc. We have also had a different language."

"Many things have changed with industrialization and urbanization. Our own people now live in ways far different from those of the past. But we believe that the idea of an integrated community life is still valid, although obviously it must be built in different circumstances. Our main recommendation to the Council is to find ways to make such a life possible for more people in Canada."

7. The National Association of Canadians of Origins in India, founded in Ottawa in 1976, has chapters in every province.

"Greatly increased numbers of immigrants from the third-world countries in the late sixties and early seventies

resulted in an increased awareness of visible minorities. Worsening economic climate and consequent social attitudes led to resistance of visible minorities and their cultures; and the debate on national unity has added a new dimension and raised questions in the minds of the non-English, non-French segment of the population about their role and place in Canada. All these developments have exposed the weakness of the multiculturalism policy and its implementation."

8. The National Black Coalition of Canada was established in 196[illegible]:

"To ensure that Black people of Canada achieve full social, political and economic participation in the shaping of a humane Canadian society, and moreover that Black people benefit fully from this society; to foster a national spirit of racial identity and solidarity and whenever possible to extend this empathy to Black people in other parts of the world; to eradicate all forms of racism and discrimination in Canadian society."

"It is within the context of racial antagonism and discrimination that the Black peoples of Canada, and other visible minorities, must view the concept and practice of multiculturalism in Canada."

"The old maxim applies here 'first things first'. The federal, provincial and local governments of Canada must take the necessary steps to ensure that basic needs of all its people are met ... jobs, housing, education opportunities, medical, educational and social services, opportunities for leisure time activities and other basic needs. This is merely a matter of fundamental social justice. Other matters, songs, dances, ethnic foods, etc., come later."

9. The National Congress of Italian Canadians, established in 1974, acts as a spokesman for approximately one million Italo-Canadians throughout the country.

"The commitment of $50 000,000 to be spent on the Multiculturalism Program in the next five years, as advertised earlier this year by the Minister is, in our view, a miniscule investment for the benefits which Canada will reap in the future. Multiculturalism is a policy which affects nearly one third of Canada's population and yet it is a subject rarely discussed by Parliament. There does not even exist a standing interparty parliamentary committee to debate it. If there was, perhaps its members would bring to the attention of the Canadian people that in the fiscal year 1977-78, for example, only eight million dollars was allocated, of which about 40 percent was spent directly on operation expenses, including salaries. We think that this arrangement leaves very little money to spend directly on Multiculturalism Programs."

10. The National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association is an umbrella organization representing approximately 60 Japanese Canadian groups. It was formed in 1946 basically as a self-protective organization defending the rights of Japanese Canadians in post-war Canada.

"We must recognize that Canada has not had a lily white record in the area of equal opportunities and rights for all ethnic groups. To recognize this fact, make amends and to diligently pursue the righting of these injustices would be the measurement of the quality of the spirit and the potential for greatness of our country."

"We must look into our hearts and minds; recognize the fundamental rights of all peoples for equal rights and dignity, regardless of colour, race, religion. We ask our own Canadians of Japanese descent to learn from their own experiences and to be at the forefront of efforts to eliminate discriminatory practices in thought and deed and to speak out against these practices whenever the opportunity arises."

"New immigrants must also recognize that some of their alien ways are a discomfort to some more established Canadians and must temper their cultural freedoms so as not to arouse hostility. Simple dislike for loud conversation, noise, or strange odours should not be mistaken for ethnic discrimination."

11. The Canadian Jewish Congress, established in 1919, is the representative body of Canada's Jewish community. The main thrust of the Congress is in the areas of immigrant settlement and orientation, community welfare, education, arts and culture. The Congress also maintains close links with parallel organizations throughout the world. It has many affiliated national Jewish organizations, such as The Canada Israel Committee, the Jewish Historical Society of Canada, and the Canadian Zionist Federation.

"The Canadian Jewish Congress is ever mindful that a program to promote a sense of multicultural society is an exceedingly difficult one. Its one advantage is that in Parliament all parties gave it support. Its practical disadvantages are that the media is far from its champion, that the unanimous political support of the federal Liberal caucus finds very little impact in the Quebec constituencies or other grassroot institutions and virtually none in French Canada's intellectual circles."

WORKSHOP SUMMARIES

A BIRD'S EYE-VIEW OF THE ACTION

The conference's 10 workshops carried their own rhythm of interaction. Each had a specific agenda to focus attention onto what might appear at first glance to be mutually exclusive subject areas. However, discussions invariably had a will of their own, meandering over and around any given topic. The result was that, in spite of different issues, there were striking similarities in the pith of thought between the various workshops. Observations converged from many angles on a number of common points. The meshing of dialogue gave prominence to the key concerns that have assumed form at this particular juncture in Canada's multicultural evolution.

On a general level, both community-leader and youth workshops gravitated to the notion of cultural distinction and cultural congruence under the Canadian dome. The desire to reaffirm the common denominator of being Canadian reflects an awareness that "unity in diversity" is an inspiring goal which is essential to a multi-ethnic, multi-racial society's well-being. In that sense, it was also suggestive of a willingness to shoulder some of the responsibility for promoting that ambition in Canadian society. In spite of the pessimism of facts and impressions being exchanged, a certain attitude of self-help, and a resolve to take initiatives, lent a mood of optimism to both workshop groups.

In isolating problems, neither group expected to unearth a magical cure-all. Rather, what was apparent as a trend of thought was that most problems are at once both cause and effect and, therefore, permeate the very institutions and communities that could be agents of change: education, media, government, mainstream society and, in some cases, ethnocultural groups themselves.

This realization led to the common conclusion that a total network of short-term catalysts was needed for long-term change. In some ways, the personal commitments to activate or participate in the change cycle were behind the frequent criticisms of the CCCM's composition. This was certainly true for the youth delegates who collectively demanded representation on the Council.

It is interesting to note that, while the youth workshops did not have the benefit of panelist presentations nor as high a level of background knowledge as the community leader workshops, their deliberations unerringly hit the same critical targets. Their proposals frequently coincided on a general, and sometimes even specific, level. The differences were rather in emphasis and in the dynamics of idea interchange and crystallization.

The community leader workshops, for the most part, moved with a consistent rhythm. Viewpoints tended to be quite structured and clearly articulated with the result that the lines of consensus and polarization were often well defined. In the youth workshops, however, thoughts moved unevenly - sometimes dragging on, sometimes blocked, sometimes accelerating as the grip tightened on a particular aspect of the subject under discussion. Viewpoints were usually open-ended and flexible, allowing a fully mutual development of ideas. At once searching and receptive, the youth delegates grew richer in awareness and stronger in their resolve to share that awareness with other youth across Canada.

In terms of content, youth delegates were quick to put the finger on apathy and ignorance as the major stumbling blocks. They therefore stressed information as a fundamental part of any strategy for change and cultural sharing: facts to refute stereotypic perceptions, announcements to give broader exposure to

multiculturalism concepts, informing the public of human rights, curricula to reflect the Canadian reality and so forth in a multitude of contexts. Community leaders tended to treat apathy and ignorance more as symptoms of other ills: discrimination, racism and Anglo-Celtic monopoly of the economic and political elite of Canada were themes which recurred with a telling insistence. "Song and dance" topics fell significantly lower on the scale of priorities than bread and butter issues, issues of equal access to power. By extension the concept of exchange carried a deeper, more revolutionary significance. For several workshops, it meant a new consolidation of ethnocultural groups to struggle for greater participation in all strata of Canadian life.

INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE - A KEY TO UNITY

Community leaders

Intercultural exchange can be a key to unity, but only if it is a key that also unlocks the doors of perception. As several of the conference's workshops confirmed, those locks are jammed by a dogged ethnocentricity to which most Canadians are easily inured. While cross-cultural contact can be decidedly enriching, it does not always lead to the kind of perception which unites. Facile generalizations about exchange overlook the fact that stressful or competitive contact situations merely aggravate undercurrents of ill-will. They overlook the real disparatives which separate groups. In this regard, Workshop I was animated by various streams of thought which sometimes converged, sometimes flowed parallel, sometimes diverged. Taken collectively, the many different views of delegates painted a broad tableau of issues pertinent to national unity.

Initially interest lingered on such broad questions as: What is ethnicity? What is that uncertain vision we call unity? Discussion got off to a rousing start with the ruffling of some feathers.

Ethnicity - a harmful image?

How authentic and how desirable is today's ethnic resurgence?

At least one viewpoint argued that assimilation is the final, inevitable stage of immigrant adaptation. Although groups might cling to vestiges of the old culture, ethnic identification becomes far less important than other units of belonging such as occupation, region, social class. Government abetting of ethnicity

enhances the politician's appeal to a specific electorate and allows the emergence of the "professional ethnic", for a convenient symbiotic relationship. At the same time, a heightened sense of ethnicity, combined with the availability of government funds, sparks interethnic rivalry over the pieces of pie. In short, as both government and ethnic communities insist more and more on making cultural distinctions, less and less tolerance for diversity exists. The result is that unity, rather than being served, is hindered. These comments came in for ready criticism as being representative of the established viewpoint.

Those with stronger ethnic affinity were nettled to the quick. The counterview argued that ethnicity is a matter not of wanting to be different but of being different. Immigrants are often the most eager to shed their foreign traits. Although they have no illusions about instant integration into the decision-making arenas of the country, they are unnecessarily isolated by the exclusivity and divisiveness of assimilation pressures. It is frequently the second, third, or even fourth generations which have confidence enough to repossess their ethnicity, as can be seen in the very authentic and self-sufficient Polish and Ukrainian communities. Ethnic identity is a deeply personal identity, not to be confused with the status or geographic identity with which it might coexist. At the same time, unlike the Dutch or the Germans who can, if they so wish, melt conveniently into the landscape within a few generations, the Black Canadian remains black against the essentially white-faced landscape. For visible minorities the word assimilation carries ludicrous overtones.

Delegates conceded that "professional ethnics" exist, albeit no more reproachably than the academic who intellectualizes over an obscure subject or the bureaucrat who builds his empire.

They also conceded that, if a culture has no independent will to survive, government funds cannot pump life into it. The point stressed, however, was that the 1971 policy was not a magic trick conjuring forth a bevy of ethnocultural groups. It was merely a recognition that many groups had indeed proven to have an admirable will to survive. Government has not delivered instructions on cultural preservation in the past, nor should it in the future. It should, however, back up its commitments by responding to community expressed needs. Ethnic groups, for their part, must be more restrained and self-disciplined in vying for their share. To bring the debate round full circle, in a society of equal opportunity, neither government nor minority groups would have to stress pride in cultural distinctness. In short, it is where there is a pressure for unattainable sameness that less and less tolerance for diversity exists.

Tolerance - for song or for survival?

That tolerance is a precondition of unity was obvious to all delegates of whatever persuasion concerning multiculturalism. The next challenge came in the suggestion that tolerance, respect and understanding have become shop-worn terms in danger of being too lightly used. Often they are well-meant but misplaced notions as in: "We just love your songs, your food, your dances, your exotic or exhibit-worthy cultural characteristics." Quite another interpretation of culture can be distilled from a look at groups whose ethnicity is anchored in day-to-day living. The Inuit whose life is fishing and hunting asks a more complex form of respect and understanding from society. In the name of multiculturalism, society applauds Inuit distinctness; in the name of northern development it snatches away the means of Inuit survival.

A slightly different but equally incisive perspective on tolerance was intimated in the view that diversity and the potential for divisiveness are related not only to ethnocultural differences but also to socio-economic differences. Some minorities are consistently slotted into the lower echelons of a mosaic which has its own hierarchy. As long as some ethnocultural groups are denied equal access to the full cross-section of society, the exercise of building up one's culture must be viewed as strictly a luxury.

In other words, the cement for unity is not in a random mixture of folkloric activity, but in an exchange which recognizes the deeper significance of tolerance. Several delegates reaffirmed that conflicts stem not from cultural preservation per se but from a lack of trust between groups. All Canadians want security and must participate in exchanges that will create mutual trust with respect to that need, develop a sense of belonging to this land and bridge gaps or barriers that hinder cohesion. This suggests that the basis for intercultural exchange must be the efforts and struggle of peoples to gain control over their lives within Canadian society, and the solidarity of all peoples to work to gain that control for one another. The basis of unity must be a feeling of equality.

O Canada!

The egalitarian principle went hand in hand with a rejection of some of the terminology in current use. The words "ethnics" and "multicultural", for example, were seen as limiting the overall notion of Canadianism. The full integration of multiculturalism means that ultimately it must be implicit in Canadian culture and national pride. Immigrants have come to Canada not to sport a hyphenated identity but to share in the values, standards

values, standards and ethics collectively espoused in Canadian laws. "Let us be proud to be Canadians!" With these words discussion converged on unity. "From sea to sea" is a motto considered to put the dilemma in a nutshell. It stresses a geographic reality which is reflected in the current unity crisis. The Parti Québécois represents the struggle not of French Canadians across the nation, but of Fench Canadians in Quebec. A Newfoundlander may feel he is part of a minority culture, even if his heritage is an Anglo-Celtic one. Unity, in its most immediate sense, is a political question posed on regional lines. Its most immediate threat is in the relationship of Quebec with the rest of Canada, a manifestation of the growing gap between the two "founding nations".

The "other third" has a tremendous stake in preserving this multicultural nation. If Quebec cannot establish its sovereignty at home, it is certain that other ethnic groups will find their cultural identity in the rest of Canada either. Consequently, all ethnocultural groups should participate in the unity debate. If Quebecers fear that multiculturalism will dilute their cultural strength, they must be assured of the contrary.

At the same time, the proposed constitutional reform should take account of the evolving Canadian environment. Unity in the long run will not be a matter of political patchwork but of a conscientious respect for the equality of rights of all Canadians. Ethnocultural groups must speak up to ensure that any new constitution does recognize their presence.

National unity clearly is not a finished product but something which must yet be achieved, and can be explored in different dimensions, one being cultural pluralism.

Down to brass tacks

Ethnic awareness, it was generally agreed, is a healthy and positive aspect of Canadianism, provided that it is married to a broader perspective. Intercultural exchange can nourish that perspective at many levels.

The attitudes that will prevail tomorrow depend greatly on the perceptions that youth develop today. Peer group pressures, parents, schools and the media frequently deliver conflicting messages with respect to one's place in society. Ethnocultural groups should encourage retention of heritage languages and cultures at home, while working towards a greater input of multicultural values at school and in the media. Intercultural exchange should endeavor to highlight similarities, while stressing respect for differences.

Delegates outlined a very operational strategy for input at the neighbourhood level. It was pointed out that intergroup communication can be achieved locally, not only through social and cultural events, but also through conferences which focus on studying and understanding our communities, how they interact and how to build on this interaction. A consolidated approach can then be taken at the grass roots, harnessing local opportunities (school boards, cablevision) and mobilizing local resources.

Umbrella associations, such as the Cross Cultural Communications Centre in Toronto, and the Multicultural Council in Windsor, have been effective vehicles for the neighbourhood approach. Workshop members felt strongly that the CCCM should utilize the experience of umbrella groups, in terms both of future appointments and on-going consultations.

In recognition of the present unity dilemma, delegates stressed that ethnocultural organizations should sensitize their groups to Quebec's frustrations and struggle for cultural self-determination. On the occasion of this conference, and on future occasions via the mass media, ethnocultural groups should convey a message of good will and optimism to the people of Quebec.

Finally, in the interests of Canada's future mosaic culture and its proud manifestation in art, delegates wished to call upon ethnocultural writers, composers and visual artists to consider ethnicity and folk arts as possible and quite unique sources of inspiration.

THE FUTURE OF ETHNOCULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CANADA

Community leaders

Gazing into the future, it can happen that one overlooks the humdrum needs of today. However, those needs do not vanish by being ignored. They take on an urgent character and vie the more anxiously for attention. Workshop II attempted to pull away from the traditional expectations of ethnocultural groups, toward the prospects for greater access to established structures in Canada. The feeling was that some groups were ready for economic and political bargaining on equal terms with the mainstream community, while other, more recently arrived groups struggled with a fundamental set of survival questions which preclude heavy involvement in political action and which separate their interests from those of the more established communities.

The bulk of the discussion revolved around panelist presentations, which tended to be more pertinent for large associations with a long-established presence in Canada. A dichotomy emerged from the apparent inapplicability of the dominant viewpoint for less established groups with a shorter period of time in this country. Regrettably, and perhaps to their mutual disadvantage, the dichotomy situated visible minority groups on one side and non-visible groups on the other. This preamble is a necessary adjustment to the perspective which will dominate the following summary, as it dominated workshop deliberations.

Issues in the limelight were: organizational development by ethnocultural community groups leading to greater self-determination, severing the tie with government in favor of broader based support from the corporate sector and politicization of ethnocultural groups via coalition building. Taken together, these issues were seen to focus on a redistribution of economic and

political power within the larger society of which ethnocultural groups are a constituent part.

Which way to the dollar?

Ethnocultural groups vary dramatically in the community needs they serve. Those needs are directly related to the capacity of members to function in the mainstream society, which in turn is a function of such variables as age, language ability and economic stability. Newest arrivals frequently work together, buffering the cultural shock for one another, and forming a strong fellowship of self-help. Some disdain government hand-outs, feeling that they diminish membership commitment to the cause, resulting in personality conflicts and "professional ethnics". Others see government assistance as their only recourse, as occupational change and social orientation begin to drain off the original mass commitment to group survival. Others again have acquired the confidence and stability to work for autonomy in areas of priority, and view exclusive government funding as being detrimental to their self-determination. Their preference is for a more diversified funding base through corporate, foundation, and individual sources.

For those relying on government assistance, the diversified funding base appeared as an unattainable ideal. It was pointed out that visible minorities, in particular, struggle with a permanent immigrant image which disadvantages them in every day life, let alone in the competitive race for corporate dollars. In this line of thinking, it was felt that the criteria for Secretary of State funding are prohibitively specific, and do not recognize the needs of the regions or ethnocultural groups they are meant to serve. The eight grants' programs are a boggling maze for the uninitiated. Consultative support is essential if groups are to develop the necessary expertise in government relations.

With respect to corporate financing, some anxiety was expressed regarding the ethics involved in requesting funds from a company which is polluting or otherwise exploiting the natural or human resources of the community seeking assistance. In the same vein, large scale corporate financing was viewed by some with suspicion in terms of its vast influencing power on a group's attempts at autonomy. Notwithstanding these apprehensions and the opposing preferences for self-reliance and government assistance, many saw diversified funding as the only solution to the shrinking resource dollar. Attention turned to the corporate coffers.

Corporate philanthropy

While no reliable surveys of corporate donation practices were known to exist, delegates noted that some of the largest firms (manufacturing, retailing, financing, communications and transport sectors) have substantial donation budgets. As a tax incentive, they can deduct up to 20% of net earnings in any one year for donations to registered charitable organizations. A figure of $90 million, representing less than one percent of pre-tax profits, was quoted as being the donations alloted for the totality of non-profit organizations in Canada. While some corporations display a condescending attitude of almsgiving, others view donations as a fundamental part of corporate responsibility, an investment in the community from which they take their profits.

Several corporations deal with over 1,000 requests annually from a variety of sources, including educational institutions, welfare organizations, political parties and artistic and cultural communities. To deal with such staggering volume, many have devised sophisticated procedures. Typically, proposals are first analyzed by the public relations office or middle management personnel, and then passed with recommendations to a committee of

three to five senior executives. The final decision is rendered by the Board of Directors, sometimes months after the initial request to corporate staff.

Delegates expressed considerable frustration at not being able to determine the criteria by which corporations evaluate proposals. Some of the broader questions likely to influence their decisions were nevertheless postulated as being: Does the project meet a real community need? Is it supported by other corporations? Does the requesting group have a record of past experience, or is high potential evident? Can the impact of the project be monitored? Is there evidence of voluntary support? Does the corporation have a unique interest (client, or employee participation, for example)? Is the request reasonable (15 to 20 percent of estimated costs)?

From these few observations, delegates saw that only the most confident and professional groups could hope for success in this avenue of fund-raising.

The professional approach

By way of general comment, it was suggested that ethnocultural organizations should study the organizational structure of well-established organizations which have been successful in corporate fund-raising. All non-profit organizations in Canada, for example, are incorporated without share capital,either federally or provincially. They function typically with a mixture of public and private funding, and professional and volunteer staff. Their organizational structure reflects seven primary areas of concern: policy, government relations, resource development, volunteers, professionals, program planning and evaluation, and internal and external communications. Their board members are appointed to a

function within the operational structure, rather than to a figure-head position. They work alongside volunteers and are rotated constantly to ensure that the organization remains in step with the changing needs of the community it serves.

Against this background, the professional approach would then be guided further by pragmatism. It was suggested that the strength of a sales pitch lies not in the ideals of a given project, so much as in the rational organizational structure of the requesting body. This would be reflected in a well documented, written proposal, which provides a description of the background and objectives of the organization, and a summary of the project with its cost/revenue breakdown and expected impact. Activities to be sponsored should be carefully selected, in terms of possible linkages with specific corporations (that is, impact on or participation of share-holders, employees, clients or suppliers). The selected corporations should then be approached by someone influential in terms of these linkages. Organizations which have no such leverage or contacts should recruit some "captains of industry" by appealing to the good-citizen image. It was also stressed that an activity which could be very visibly sponsored would have the attraction of offering some publicity for the corporation, as a by-product. The event should be monitored, so as to provide the corporation with some feedback. A good key strategy in the long-run is asking for less money but securing a place on the corporation's donation list. Finally, smaller groups have a better chance in the competitive fray if they coalesce with like-minded groups for a stronger soliciting voice.

These strategic tips suggest that ethnocultural groups have much room for improvement in their organizational structure and fund raising techniques. Ethnocultural groups should seek access to the corporate sector, not only for the dollars, but also

for the opportunity to interact with and thus educate the leadership of major organizations in Canada, who in turn influence others.

Politicization and coalition building

Looking at the spectrum of ethnocultural groups, it was observed that the prevalent ethnic mentality with its defensive, inward posture should evolve in the long run into broad political action, characterized by a concerted effort to provide for equal access to the privileges and structures presently available to only limited segments of Canadian society. As Porter and others have pointed out, the lead positions in the economy, media and civil service have been controlled for over 200 years by a thin layer of Anglo-Celtic Canadians. Dynamic, new strategies are required, which will not threaten ethnicity and identity, but which will open access to the intitutions of the wider society. This involves a certain politicization of the ethnic community around issues of powerful practical or emotional import.

If multiculturalism is to be a politically viable force, and not just a cultural decoration, groups must learn to set aside their ethnic particularisms. They must form and dissolve alliances according to short-term goals, such as providing multilingual social services, or rewriting textbooks, or combatting racism. They must be able to come together to defend their common interests and to articulate their concerns to one another. They must be able to use the political process to their advantage by polling political candidates, joining political parties, sensitizing candidates to their concerns.

On the whole, delegates related well to the concept of political ethnicity, and saw embryos of the coalition process in

various existing channels for intercultural communications, such as the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation. The flexible, issue-oriented, short-term approach to coalition building was considered valid. It was felt by some that an interethnic national organization might provide a necessary communications network, to initiate and coordinate these coalitions. Such an umbrella organization, however, would have to restrict itself to issues which unite members, rather than those which bring contradictions.

At this point in the discussion, a distinct division developed between poor and rich, visible and non-visible, new and established ethnocultural groups. Indeed, this dichotomy became more apparent throughout the workshop, culminating in the perception that survival concerns cannot share a common agenda with power concerns. The very fact that a national organization would have to avoid points of conflict, was seen as a refusal to confront the realities of inequality. In view of this resistance, the umbrella organization was put on a shelf, pending closer examination of other alternatives.

Two other areas received vigorous attention: the constitution and the composition of the CCCM. A very strong feeling prevailed that, if multiculturalism is an essential part of Canadian society, it must be so reflected in the country's constitution. With all due respect for the dedication of CCCM members, several delegates felt that most are not in the front line of ethnocultural struggles. There were forceful demands for a review of the CCCM composition, with a view to securing a closer representation not only of ethnic groups but of political dispositions as well.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND RACE RELATIONS IN CANADA

Community leaders

In 1971, the government cited "preserving human rights" as one of the five objectives of the multicultural policy. Further, it committed itself to "assisting members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society". There is no equivocation in these statements. Nevertheless, taking great universal values off the podium of policy and into real life necessarily exposes contradictions. Even among converts to multiculturalism, there is perceived to be a certain polite side-stepping of the issue of race relations. This workshop did not mince its words, nor limit its vision of the changes implied in a truer evolution toward the multicultural just society.

Discussions highlighted the fact that multiculturalism, immigration, and general prejudice are closely linked in the negative perception that many Canadians have of visible minority groups. Looking back at the roots of such perceptions helped to diagnose some of their current problematic manifestations namely, that culture, or at least cultural skin, does remain a barrier to full participation in Canadian society. While Human Rights Codes and Commissions are a reassuring affirmation of Canada's commitment to an ideal, their effectiveness has been limited largely to bandaging the symptoms of inequality. Inequality itself pervades the anatomy of society, suggesting that its ultimate eradication will require major surgery. A number of proposals were discussed, as possible features of a systemic change strategy.

Mistaken identities

Examining some of the data on perceptions, delegates

observed that negative attitudes toward immigrants tend to stigmatize anyone who is obviously different from the norm. For example, the Majority Attitude Study (1978) found a climate reasonably receptive to multiculturalism as a social fact, but at the same time had uncovered a certain categorization of culturally and racially different groups. Based on a random sampling of the Canadian population, the survey showed that the dominant cultures see each other as being the most similar to themselves, followed by others roughly in the order of their "perceived" length of stay in Canada. The "similar to me" dimension correlated with positive attitudes, as did dissimilarity with negative attitudes. Being likeable, clean, Canadian, hardworking, wealthy, interesting and important were some of the indicators against which the positive and negative attitudes were evaluated.

Other studies have found comparable relationships between perceived recency, perceived dissimilarity, and low esteem, reflected in such terms as lazy, dishonest, dirty, violent, smelly, poor, and so forth. These statistical findings were in alignment with the ethnocentric response to immigration, as seen in such commonplace epithets as: "they're stealing our jobs", "they're a bunch of trouble-makers", "they're ignorant" and "they burden our welfare rolls".

On one level, it has been noted that a difference in belief systems triggers off more prejudice than racial characteristics per se. The immigrant off the boat is an alien entity, inspiring an irrational fear of the unknown, which is then rationalized through stereotyping and finding scapegoats. However, on the level of discrimination, the Ontario Human Rights Commission describes the acting out of prejudice as a reaction to race and colour, not to cultural differences. This view is demonstrated by the fact that some non-white, native-born Canadians report

experiences of discrimination, even though they have fully adapted to Canadian customs and expectations and, in some cases, have many generations of Canadian-born ancestors. It appears that racial characteristics become an indelible reminder of the once immigrant status, which itself remains akin to a "conquered people" status. While this may clarify some of the linkages in negative perception, it does not expose the deeper roots.

The misshaping of perceptions

Discussion turned to the objective historical conditions which formed and reproduced racist perceptions. Conquest motivated by material concerns has typically been interpreted by conquerors as proof of their superiority over another's inferiority. The imperialist age saw European merchants plundering the non-European world, and enslaving millions of Africans for use in the new world, which justified its oppression of Blacks by presenting them as subhuman creatures. In its earliest forms, therefore, racism was integral to the growth of capitalism.

Later, fugitive slaves won their freedom in Canada, only to be exploited for their cheap labor, in much the same way as were the Amerindian "savages", who delivered a steady stream of furs to the Hudson Bay Company in return for baubles and bangles. Next in line for exploitation were the Orientals, whose entry was tolerated for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Upon completion of that arduous project, Canada's immigration policy became increasingly restrictive with respect to non-whites, since they were dispensable to the primary group's economic interests. It was pointed out that the harsh reality of this past survives as the basis for contemporary racism. In a sense, what remains as a misshapen perception is that, by and large, visible

minorities are suitable only for menial work, at the bottom of the social ladder. Furthermore, a perception of Third World countries as wretchedly poor, under-educated, over-populated and strife-ridden gives added impulse to the denigrating stereotype.

Today, Canada's economic growth requires continuing immigration. Since the country's capacity to attract European immigrants has diminished, immigration policy has retracted its earlier restrictions and espoused a non-discriminatory principle. While in itself this principle is encouraging, the distribution of immigration offices throughout the world reveals that the preferred sources of immigration remain unchanged. At the same time, public ignorance of the selection process has bred a certain resentment in recent years against East Asians, who have come with skills and professions. That is, they no longer fit the historical picture of labourers and slaves. Hence the search for scapegoats and a flight into other ways of veiling deep-rooted prejudice, in a society which formally rejects overt racism.

Property rights versus human rights

Another perspective on the legacy of capitalist thinking in the conflict between property rights and human rights was explored by workshop delegates. Several examples were thrown into the field for consideration. Should a hotel manager deny access to a white male accompanied by an Indian woman, on the grounds that he has had troubles with young males bringing Indian women into his hotel? While initial response to the example was divided, pursuing it through a number of variations brought a general agreement that access should not be denied. It was then pointed out that the same example, with the same variations, had been put to over 1,000 police officers, in the course of lectures on the Human Rights Code. Twenty-three out of every 25 officers had responded in favour

of denying access. This observation opened the floor to animated discussion. It was noted that police efforts are concentrated on patrolling "better areas" - protecting property rights - while the problems of assault, vandalism and theft in poorer areas are left largely ignored. Other views rushed forth: slavery itself was enshrined as a property right in law; common law still blatantly favours the landlord over the tenant; Native Peoples' rights are subjugated to multinationals' greed for natural resource exploitation; competitiveness, the profit motive and materialism have become the prevailing values of society; ultimately, laws protect the interests of the ruling classes. The conclusion was swiftly reached: a just society must bring property rights into a more equitable balance with human rights.

Human rights codes and commissions

The human rights aspect of a multicultural society implies the existence of social and economic mobility for all its members through the freedom of choice and action. In spite of the Canadian Human Rights Act and the provincial human rights codes, disparities in treatment and available opportunity based upon race continue to cut across virtually every field of endeavor, at every level. There is a flagrant underrepresentation of visible minorities in the political process, in the public service, in the political process, in the public service, in the police force, in the media, in the education system, in any position of social, economic or political prominence.

Delegates reviewed the structure, philosophy and procedures of the British Columbia, Ontario and Canadian Human Rights commissions in some detail. While all have a general mandate to enforce the legal provisions of their respective codes, and to promote the spirit of the codes, it was felt that Ontario, in

particular, lacks the resources to engage seriously in a program of social change. It is widely recognized that, to come to grips with the more subtle and farther reaching forms of discrimination, human rights commissions must extend beyond their traditional role of investigating individual complaints. They must be empowered to initiate educational programs, affirmative action programs and class action complaints, on a broad scale.

Although this review served to sharpen the focus on how human rights codes and commissions could have greater impact on race relations, it was apparent to delegates that all the eggs could not be put into one basket. The colour problem is too diffuse, and its solution too crucial to multicultural harmony, to be pursued through one avenue alone - the colour problem being, of course, primarily a white one.

Aiming for attitudinal change

It was clear to delegates that the primary target for change must be the attitude of the majority toward culturally and racially different groups. At the same time, delegates recognized a certain phenomenon of reverse discrimination, self-imposed segregation, and general retreat into cultural asylum from a hostile environment, on the part of some ethnocultural groups. It was stressed that better fences do not make better neighbours in the multicultural context. All disadvantaged groups must set aside their linguistic, religious, ethnic and national differences to collectively seek better understanding and positive race relations among all Canadians.

The pervasiveness of the attitudinal problem demands that various segments of society - namely, minority cultures, the press, the police, the schools, the governments, the anglophone and

francophone communities - be simultaneously engaged as change targets and change agents. The strategies for change might be identified as: facilitative (intergroup communication), reeducative (fact presentation), persuasive (encouragement and incentive), coercive (legal), and multiple (any combination of the foregoing). Change must be envisaged both in immediate and long range terms.

This conference represented a facilitative strategy in that it gives various groups the opportunity of identifying common problems and possible resources for remedy. It could have been a more effective strategy had it engaged more members of the majority groups, both in terms of actual participation and greater media coverage of the total event. A reeducative strategy would include confronting distorted perceptions with fact. The Special Joint Committee on Immigration and studies of the Economic Council of Canada, for example, gave substantiating evidence that immigrants do not cause crowding in cities, nor put a strain on social services, nor cause unemployment, nor contribute to a rising crime rate. This strategy also applies to the entire learning environment, insofar as it seeks to acquaint all Canadians and immigrants to Canada with the multicultural reality. The persuasive strategy would promote understanding of differences and tolerance. It would also encourage groups to step with greater confidence into visibility, to engage more activity in the political process. The public sector must lead this strategy by demonstrating its commitment to eradicating racism, through appointments which reflect the racial mix of society and through affirmative action programs in the federal public service. A coercive strategy would include deletion of all discriminatory legislation, at all levels of government. Recognition of the rights of Native Indian women for example, must be reflected in revisions of the Indian Act.

Numerous suggestions for each of the outlined strategies were specified in the written presentations of the seven workshop panelists. All delegates saw the need for an integrated, non-linear approach to the resolution of attitudinal problems and felt that the CCCM could place a special emphasis on the inseparability of human rights from multiculturalism. Finally, all expressed the desire to see the multiculturalism policy and the Canadian Bill of Rights entrenched in the new constitution.

MULTICULTURALISM AND CANADIAN IDENTITY

Community leaders

One of the definite features of Canadian consciousness is the continuing quest for a Canadian national identity. After decades of historical introspection, Canadians by and large are still unable to point to a unifying cultural distinctiveness which is readily accepted by all. This dilemma was reflected in the various presentations made by the participants at this conference.

Definitions of culture and perceptions of cultural unity and distinctiveness are the product of each participant's own regional and ethnocultural experience. There are different concepts of Canadian identity based on a diversity of approaches to the question of identity or identities. The participants described the following diversity of approaches:

a. diversity of views with respect to socialization or integration into Canadian and regional society;
b. diversity of interests (regional, occupational, linguistic, etc.) which are always related more or less to ethnic consciousness, depending on individuals or groups;
c. diversity of experiences of groups and individuals within groups.

Historical evolution of identity in Canada

When the first Europeans arrived in what is now Canada, Native societies already existed with at least 11 distinct major linguistic groups and seven major cultural areas. The Native population, so different in many ways from the European settlers, nevertheless shared the same Canadian environment. The first settlers from France learned many skills from the Native people in their efforts to live along the St. Lawrence River Valley.

Within a few generations, the native-born settlers began to distinguish themselves from the French in France. This feeling of being "Canadiens" became more pronounced after the British Conquest of 1759. The departure of many French administrators, merchants and officers left les Canadiens with their attachment to the land and their Canadian way of life, mentality, culture and language.

This fundamental aspect of Canadian identity - attachment to the land - was even more marked among the Acadians, who were deported to the American colonies and elsewhere between 1755 and 1762 - only to return after long journeys to re-establish themselves in the remote corners of what is now New Brunswick.

With the arrival of the Loyalists from the American colonies, the attachment of les Canadiens to the land grew as they pioneered new settlements in the Maritimes, and Upper and Lower Canada.

From pioneer settlements to rural and urban communities to self-governing colonies, the various parts of British North America grew from strength to strength to become the modern Canada in 1867 with Confederation. With each succeeding generation, the settlers of British and French descent developed their regional identities and cultures according to the challenges of their environment. The arrival of settlers from other European countries and from the United States added to the increasing number of local and regional identities and cultures in Canada. The environment, the land and the task of settling the country provided a unifying experience and tradition to all Canadians.

After 1896, and expecially after the Second World War, new settlers arrived from many more countries all over the world. Many of these immigrants, especially the more recent arrivals, settled in cities and towns and worked in shops and factories. The challenges of a new land remained and the influences of the Canadian environment made all Canadians, native-born and immigrant share in the same experiences, same difficulties, same hopes and dreams for the future.

Each new wave of immigrants to Canada had a particular impact on the host society, and the mainstream society, in turn, greatly influenced the immigrant groups and the established ethnocultural groups. By 1971, it had become a social reality that Canadian society was not composed entirely of English or French, or of both, but it was an evolving mosaic of regional, ethnocultural and mainstream cultures best described as multicultural. The official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework merely recognized this Canadian reality. Multiculturalism became the official framework of Canadian cultures and identities.

What Canadian identity is and isn't

Basing their deliberations on this historical reality, the participants proposed a general definition of Canadian identity. Canadian identity is not monolithic but plural, not specific but diverse, not exclusive but inclusive, not insular but open and receptive. Since Canada grew from many roots over a long period of time, and since its geography makes regionalism and provincialism so powerful, the Canadian identity can comprehend all of the diversities of regional and ethnocultural lifestyles and loyalties. Quite simply, anyone who is born or chooses to live in Canada is Canadian. Despite this very general definition, the participants did not doubt that a Canadian would be distinguished as a Canadian in the United States, Europe or other areas of the world.

Alongside or within this general national identity, the participants also noted that each region - with its particular economy, environment, history of settlement - constitutes an important element of self-identification for Canadians. The future of Canada depends on the tolerance and willingness of the people to identify themselves as Canadians despite local or regional allegiances and to extend to other Canadians, native-born or immigrant, the same rights and privileges that they themselves enjoy.

Multiculturalism may be the most authentic and realistic principle of Canadianism but, unfortunately, it is not a well understood concept within the mainstream society. Preoccupation with regional and linguistic loyalties, apathy and lack of information, have limited the general acceptance of this principle.

Cultivating the multicultural garden

The conceptualization and measurement of Canadian or ethnocultural identity are complicated by the fact that identity is not a static and fixed process. The new immigrant becomes a Canadian and still retains strong bonds to the mother country. With time and with each successive generation, these bonds evolve into a general awareness, then an occasional reference, finally a statistical reference to ethnocultural descent. Cultural interchanges, intermarriage and priority of other concerns add more complex factors to the identity equation.

The participants acknowledged that a more fundamental concern was cross-cultural awareness and tolerance. The late Martin Luther King aptly summarized this concern: "I hope my white brothers will learn to love before my black brothers learn to hate". This statement encourages each Canadian to reach out and

respect other Canadians as he himself would wish to be respected. Canadians cannot be complacent and must continually measure themselves by the highest principles of multiculturalism.

Participants were emphatic in their recommendation that both the Canadian Bill of Rights and the stated goals of multiculturalism be entrenched in the new constitution. Several recommendations bearing on the legislative and administrative status of multiculturalism were put forward. Stressing similarities over differences, several delegates felt that a Ministry of Canadian Culture and Education could more appropriately further the goals of cultural pluralism.

All agreed that, while the formal commitment to multiculturalism and human rights can be legislated, the requisite understanding and tolerance must be fostered by awareness and appreciation of cultural pluralism. The educational systems were seen as primary vehicles for implementing that objective. The concepts of multiculturalism must be much more widely communicated to all Canadians, so that ultimately this reality also may be represented in and characteristic of the full range of Canadian economic, political and social life. If our principles hold true, being Canadian is not having to apologize for one's colour, race, religion, regional idiosyncracies or ethnic background.

CANADIAN PLURALISM - MEDIA AND EDUCATION

Community leaders

Media and education have the strength to open wide the doors of perception. They also have the latitude of choice to open just a crack or not at all. The public cannot intimidate these custodians for one has a formidable patron in the BNA Act, while the other stands on one of the basic freedoms of our society. For the most part, members of this workshop chose not to waste time on debating constitutional tenets. What seemed to evolve was rather a two-sided strategy: one aimed at encouraging acceptance of multiculturalism by mainstream media; the other aimed at explaining to ethnocultural groups how to work effectively to gain access to the media.

1. Media

To state the problem: multiculturalism may be a home-grown term but its acceptance is still confined to a voiceless minority. While an authentic emotional commitment exists among ethnic groups, their silence indicates perhaps the lingering contradiction between ethnic resurgence and the persistent drive to integrate.

What is the core issue of multiculturalism in the future, asked one panelist in rhetorical style. For many Black Canadians, being without heritage, language and culture, and for all who see the harm in prejudice, the reply can only be: remedying intolerance and racism in Canadian society. Responsible citizenship in the media is vital to the foundation on which egalitarianism can be built.

Fault-finding

Workshop members agreed that the media's role is to reflect society accurately back to all Canadians. In trying to do this, the media appear little better than circus trick mirrors. The distortions created by negative stereotyping, biased editorials and generally disproportionate representation of Canada's cultural mix have aggravated conflict and misunderstanding among elements of the mosaic. The public can easily become inured to prejudicial material and absorb it uncritically.

Although crimes are committed by individuals, media reporting frequently indicts an entire group if the offender is specifically identifiable with an ethnic minority as in "Chinese robbers", "fighting Pakis", "Arab terrorists". This type of over-representation in the negative sense is accompanied by under-representation in the positive sense. Two wrongs do not make one right. The media blithely ignore studies showing that newcomers help to create jobs and are unlikely to go on welfare rolls, given the criteria of immigrant acceptance. Nor is much attention given to the fact that, in the past nine years alone, Canada gained millions of dollars in terms of replacement cost (educational expenses), as a result of the inflow of managerial and professional talent from Third World countries. Immigrants have come not as intruders but according to the laws of the land, with a richness to contribute and a desire to be at home. Such details apparently do not meet the traditional standards of sensationalism which the media feel is so necessary for generating profit.

The media were criticized as much for their content as for their structures. The multicultural identity of Canada is not adequately reflected in general media staff, ranging from those who are in front of the cameras to those who preside on the boards of

directors. In short, the media were thought to be surprisingly behind the times.

Accountability

While avoiding the idea of media control, it was felt that there should be criteria for the media to follow in terms of meeting their citizenship responsibility, and that perhaps there should be some mechanism for evaluating this process.

It was agreed that because of the physical and technological limitations of the broadcasting medium, the CRTC does have certain regulating responsibilities in that area. The Ethnic Press Federation felt that community groups could express their concern and bring about changes in the media if groups worked and acted collectively in this area.

Delegates acknowledged with some misgivings that the responsibility for criteria and evaluation must remain with the media themselves. However, there was a strong feeling that the total media community should address these issues, and should have been in greater attendance at this conference (especially the electronic mass media).

How can ethnic minorities win the cooperation of the media?

Strategies for influencing the media

It was felt that media are scarcely complacent observers. Ethnocultural communities should ensure that they do not remain silent on important or controversial issues. They should try to lobby through the media to ensure that the general public understands and is favorable to their interests.

If ethnic groups take the initiative of feeding information to the media, they should keep in mind some characteristics of the trade. The media are frequently racing against deadlines and consequently cannot afford the luxury of task-force-style meditations. Media coverage is news-geared, people-geared, with a priority on what is happening now. In the rush of events, all of which are potentially newsworthy, certain worthwhile activities and viewpoints inevitably are ignored if they are not brought forward with some vigour. Militant confrontations, photogenic events and good human stories, for example, are likely to win out over musing on heritage or culture.

It was felt that the ethnic media could certainly be a valuable channel for input into majority media. Moreover, to facilitate such interchange, any quality gaps between the two could be diminished through training. There are indications that the mass media, in particular, would be receptive to providing expertise to ethnic papers. In the long run, the 35 year old Ethnic Press Federation hopes to see a professional, filtering technique evolve, as staff, expertise and funds are channelled into such an activity. Unfortunately, at the present time, the idea of news digests has not been developed beyond a hit-and-miss approach.

At the close of these discussions, some resentment lingered for what seemed to be a relegation of the ethnic media to the back bench. Ethnic electronic media representatives, for example, felt that their concerns were side-stepped, in spite of several pertinent, but quite unheeded, recommendations dating back to the CCCM's first report. Given the time shortage, concentration had to gravitate toward the ultimate target for change - majority media. A strong desire was expressed in favor of a national

interethnic media committee to monitor and improve media performance.

2. Education

One of the panelists expressed the view that a problem to which educators must address themselves is the attempt by educators to provide multicultural programs based on assumptions that have probably not been critically examined. The validity of this viewpoint was challenged by a number of workshop participants.

This panelist further stated that among educators there is no clear consensus as to the meaning of multiculturalism. The variety of interpretations in circulation has led to confusion in teaching methodology. This is aggravated by such unproven assumptions as: bilingual education leads to cultural retention, or that schools can create a society that will allow equal participation of all groups. In fact, some educators feel that retention of ethnic identity impairs social mobility, thereby entrenching inequalities. The distribution of wealth and power in this country reveals a close correlation between ethnicity and social class, suggesting that not all groups will ever be represented throughout the social strata.

Moreover, many believe that a sanctioning of Canadian pluralism is destructive to unity, since the dominant groups are generally not seen as part of the ethnic population and consequently resent the policy of multiculturalism and its advocates. Finally, a persistently idealistic and unquestioning view of the policy limits objective analysis through which study of such matters can advance. It perhaps wrongly assumes that teachers see the school as a forum for socialization, rather than for learning skills.

This perspective was accepted with skepticism by certain delegates, primarily on the grounds that cultural pluralism has been debated for decades. By way of example, in 1955 the Canadian Jewish Congress published "The Evolution of Canadian Policy toward Cultural Pluralism", not to mention the extended deliberations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. In the beginnning a policy must be subjected, and indeed must be assumed to have been subjected, to critical analysis. However, once a policy becomes official, some see the questioning of its underlying assumptions as appearing to be retrogressive. It is then, this group feels, more relevant to concentrate on the evaluative function that must be built into the policy implementation. In this context, it was conceded that multiculturalism is not without some conceptual contradictions. A serious confusion does exist, for example, in the imparting of cultural values which run counter to the Canadian lifestyle. How could Canadian society reconcile its views on marriage rites, the role of women, or dating patterns with the need to respect cultures endorsing an opposite view?

It was the general, and very strongly held, view of delegates that multiculturalism is a living reality.

At one point the discussion focussed on racial incidents in the schools in response to one person's simple and sincere plea for advice: "What can I do to relieve the suffering of a Pakistani child whose confidence is being crippled by racial prejudice at school?"

In the case of racial incidents in the schools, there are no simple answers to this problem. Much of the research directed toward the developmental origins of prejudice in children verifies that first-step ethnic awareness is evident by the age of

three. By the age of four, ethnic evaluation takes root, whereby a child's beliefs, feelings and behavioral tendencies toward others are determined. It is becoming increasingly clear that educators must go beyond their closed-door philosophizing. They must reach out and offer their valuable expertise to their pupils, to ensure that negative intergroup attitudes in children are corrected, or at the very least, are not reinforced. What kind of multicultural education program would help to alleviate this problem?

An outline of ideas

Another panelist began by saying that multicultural education can have several components, ranging from language training (official languages, heritage languages, special training for immigrant children) to curriculum instruction. A multicultural curriculum should span all grade levels and all subject areas, including English and French literature, social studies, fine arts, music, and home economics. Studies should be interdisciplinary and thematic, rather than confined to a look at one ethnic group after another. They should be broadly based to represent the total ethnic experience of Canada, rather than just the local mix or the groups which are physically or numerically visible. Culture should be looked at in terms of values and customs, rather than just quaint clothes and foods. There should be recognition that diversity exists within every group. Emphasis should be given to the human experience, as opposed to dates and statistics. Students should be given an opportunity to explore their own ethnic heritage, both to tie in with studies and to support pride in one's background. Stress should be on the similarities among people, rather than on their differences: all human beings have common needs and characteristics, although the way these traits are manifested frequently differ cross-culturally. Finally, there must be honesty in confronting the issue of prejudice, for students must learn what it feels like to be the target of discrimination.

Workshop members were satisfied that these points offer an important beginning for the individual teacher wishing to ensure that curriculum more accurately reflects the Canadian reality. Indeed, it was felt that teachers could do much to promote such a multicultural approach within their own associations or professional federations, which in turn could lobby with the ministries of education for the support needed at that level.

Elements of a basic strategy

A broadly based approach to Canada's ethnic experience is difficult to convey when teacher training and curriculum planning are subject to provincial variations. In the long-run, efforts must be directed at obtaining a policy support position from school boards and provincial ministries of education. Following that, the horizon will open to a nationally coordinated examination of models, already being developed by individuals and individual institutions, such as the International Education Centre in Halifax and the Canadian Studies Foundation.

The key to implementing effective multicultural education is an empathetic attitude on the part of individual teachers in multiethnic classrooms requiring them to seek out materials and local human resources to compensate for textbook shortcomings. This would require the involvement and support of teachers' colleges and teachers' associations.

Simultaneously, ethnic groups can actively promote a multicultural perspective through their own student population, reaching out to teachers, principals and local school boards. They can lobby for the support of quality heritage language schools,

both in terms of funding and crediting for courses offered. They can document their own experiences in the Canadian historical and current context, to ensure that the insider's view is indeed available as an indispensable alternative to the traditional outsider's view.

Finally, motivated individuals and groups can make greater use of support services such as the National Film Board, the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies and human rights commissions. They can call on the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State to provide information on resource materials, to fund research dealing with racism and attitudinal change, to identify resource persons in each province and to facilitate national communication among involved persons.

Workshop V closed the day with the belief that its discussions had benefited all participants and with the firm hope that its proposals would receive the attention they deserved.

EDUCATION

Youth

All deliberations on multiculturalism give at least a nod to the leading role played by education. This workshop presented the insider's view on how children should learn about multiculturalism.

The youth delegates' approach was sober without being skeptical, pragmatic yet sensitive to the high ideals at stake. No time was lost in the pursuit of definition. Rather, an implicit consensus seemed to guide the direction of the discussions. That consensus can be sketched out as follows: multiculturalism is a desirable national goal; it can be sustained only if both cultural plurality and ethnic tolerance develop in tandem with one another; youth is the vital link which can carry these values beyond the generations which first gave them implulse; finally, the educational task must not be limited to cognitive learning, but must embrace those elements which will foster harmonious social interaction in the multicultural context.

Problem recognition was broached by fielding personal observations:

- I've learned a lot of things at school that don't match the story I got from my own Native people.
- The only thing vaguely multicultural I remember is some talk of ancient Egyptians and pyramids, and maybe some French.
- The preoccupation with national unity and the French/English duality tend to squeeze multicultural concerns out of the picture.
- Teachers in rural consolidated high schools tend to steer Black kids into the occupational stream - they're really clueless about multiculturalism.

- A lot of kids bring ready-made prejudices to class, so it's not just school we need to look at.
- Government can't force multiculturalism as a moral thing - besides, there's the BNA Act and the whole jurisdictional hang-up.

These few comments are representative of the areas around which the substance of discussion was to develop: curriculum content, curricular materials and resources, teacher training, and extra-curricular activity. Delegates were fully aware of the practical constraints inhibiting progress, namely, that multiculturalism is a federally initiated policy, while its promotion through education remains a provincial prerogative. At the same time, their energy was concentrated on the ideal goals, the targets yet to be reached.

Curriculum content - the meat of the matter

Knowing the diameter of the planet Venus cannot possibly contribute as much to the learning skills of youth, as knowing the social dimensions of their country. If education is to contribute to the full realization of a student's potential, it cannot afford to obscure understanding of the society in which the student must later function. Furthermore, there must be recognition that being different from a dominant reference group is a handicap. Consequently, the school curriculum must broaden the concept of reference group to embrace all groups. The reference must be the total mosaic, not just its largest constituent parts. Delegates stressed that this process must begin at the earliest possible moment in one's school experience. Where prejudices are acquired at home, the egg can teach the chicken. A good multicultural curriculum can serve a double function.

In outlining their concept of a multicultural program, delegates drew both on the shortcomings and encouraging initiatives identified in their various provinces and schools. They envisioned a multicultural component in the core curriculum, supplemented by optional courses in ancestral languages and ethnic folk arts, with the further possibility of university-level study and research.

(a) The core

The first premise for a multicultural core curriculum must be whole-hearted endorsement of "a multicultural Canada within a bilingual framework". Consequently, its first feature would be courses in the two official languages for all of Canada's youth. Its second feature would be instruction at a very basic level of the demographic, sociological and historical nature of Canada's evolution. There would be a progression through the school years, to deepen awareness of the contemporary Canadian reality, with its accompanying social issues. An intrinsic part of such courses would be the discussion of comparative religious and cultural beliefs and norms. Furthermore, where relevant, all courses would tie in with the pluralist perspective, in order to promote appreciation of other cultures.

(b) Optional courses

The premise for optional courses must be that a commitment to the value of cultural diversity implies its creative encouragement. Consequently where community demand justifies it, public schools should provide the opportunity of learning an ancestral language as well as ethnic folk arts. The use of properly qualified teachers would facilitate such an initiative. Where the public school system could not undertake such an instruction, assistance would be provided to ethnic-based supplementary schools.

(c) Advance studies

The premise for advanced studies is that the concept of multiculturalism in the Canadian context is still young. A University Centre for the Study of Multiculturalism would assist its maturation through scholarly dialogue and research. It also would act as a clearing house for new multiculturally oriented teaching materials.

Dick and Jane, and other lies

Evidently, a multicultural curriculum is sabotaged if textbooks and other resources deliver conflicting messages. Delegates could remember the days of Dick and Jane, with their two-car family, roast beef dinners, and bridge-playing mother. For the Giuseppes, and Pierres, still rooted in their minority cultures, such middle-class, Anglo-Celtic images are very alienating. The more devastating effects, however, are focussed on those who see their people stereotyped, reduced to non-person status against the towering "Canadian" norm. It is clear that ethnic and racial bias must be screened out of the texts in current use and that new materials must better reflect Canada's cultural plurality. Delegates advanced a number of suggestions for removing the boundaries between school and community. Ethnic groups could collaborate on new texts to ensure that the insider's viewpoint is well represented. They could offer valuable verbal material as guest speakers in the classroom. In the same vein acceptance of a child's experience outside the school as legitimate knowledge could be fostered through ethnic awareness projects.

Schooling the teacher

The education of teachers must be at the centre of any program for educational reform. Delegates felt it is imperative to correct the cultural myopia of teachers, themselves victims of narrow schooling. In-service training, as well as the initial training of prospective teachers, must include sensitization to the multicultural concept and to the behavioral manifestations of the various cultures they are likely to meet in their classrooms. It was pointed out, for example, that some cultures view reticence as a more receptive learning attitude than speaking out. Misinterpretations of such traits were thought to be responsible for much of the stereotyping which results in a student's being detoured from the academic stream. Pending the overhaul of curricular material, teachers could learn to counteract textbook bias through the techniques of content analysis.

Extra-curricular activities

Learning through the experience of participation in ethnocultural activities could be a valuable complement to the academic approach.

Nothing like a "pierogi" to prompt a second look at one's Polish classmate! Moreover, retracting their vision to the here-and-now, delegates recognized in informal clubs the potential for immediate impact on cross-cultural awareness and tolerance within the school. There was some debate over the relative merits of umbrella clubs and individual ethnic clubs. In larger cities, an exclusive approach to group formation was seen to be of some value in renewing a sense of belonging to a specific group and in relearning that culture. Meeting with other schools having the same ethnic clubs could further consolidate that specific ethnic

identity. At the same time, it was felt that some provision should exist for intercultural exchange on an occasional or regular basis. In smaller communities, multicultural clubs were thought to be very beneficial in broadening horizons.

The idea of student exchanges was very popular with delegates. Interregional or intercultural exchanges, such as these offered by Alliance Française, Rotary Clubs, Wintario, and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews could do much to promote the understanding fundamental to multiculturalism. Few delegates were familiar with the federal Open House Canada Program, and all felt that such programs must be more widely publicized.

In conclusion

Reviewing the aspects of the present educational system, delegates found ample room for change. While their focus remained faithfully on schools, they stressed that the media, parents and ethnocultural groups also bear some of the responsibility to create a better-integrated, total multicultural learning environment.

Many delegates expressed a will to pursue projects of cross-cultural awareness on their return to school, and to seek out others with whom consolidated youth action could be launched.

YOUTH ACTION IN MULTICULTURALISM

Youth

The format of Workshop II consisted of an alteration between plenary sessions and discussion in small units of four to five persons. Beginning with a round-robin of concerns related to multiculturalism, delegates wove a broad tapestry from which threads could be pulled out, elaborated, reorganized and refined for a total picture reflecting the interrelation of each topic discussed. Although occasionally constricting, this procedure sought to extract views from each and every delegate. It aimed for clarity and economy of expression, so as to establish the underlying consensus upon which concrete proposals could be based. Indeed, formal sentence structure with its invitation to rambling was swiftly abandoned in favor of flash phrases carrying the pith of each thought. Delegates began with generalities and moved steadily toward the finely distilled specifics of their report proposals.

The hopes and the dreams

For an individual to be motivated, issues must correspond to the situation in which one lives. In this context, each delegate articulated his vision of the characteristics that a truly multicultural society might have, highlighting the present challenges to that dream. Sifting through the many comments, six recurring themes were identified: heightened cross-cultural awareness, strengthened but extroverted ethnic identity, education reflecting Canadian plurality, an actively involved youth, rejuvenated rather than sclerotic ethnic cultures, and celebration of the mosaic through regional festivals.

In Workshop II, cross-cultural awareness implied de-stereotyping and reduction of prejudice in society. It implied the inculcation of pride and social respect for all, alongside individual initiatives to remain in touch with heritage culture. It implied narrowing the gap between French and English communities, between Native peoples and the mainstream community, between the visible minorities and the non-visible majority. Ethnic identity suggested overcoming tendencies toward fragmentation, arising either from political or geographic differences imported from the mother country, from generation gaps, or from economic disparities. It suggested fresh interest in heritage language and culture, with a desire to share that richness within and beyond the boundaries of a given ethnic group. It recognized that ethnocentrism defeats itself by hampering social mobility. Education, representing the totality of one's learning environment, meant coming to understand who one's fellow Canadians are and what egalitarianism means.

Youth involvement implied a liberation from general apathy and from adult domination. It implied a will for collective action based on common concerns. It implied the acceptance by adults that youth have valuable contributions to make to the cultural, social and political life of Canada. Regional festivals expressed the desire to be openly proud of one's ethnicity while sharing with others the common ground of being Canadian. Rejuvenation of cultures implied a breaking away from repetitive rituals to make of culture a dynamic, creative force.

These brief glimpses into the future gave the impetus for a closer examination of issues obstructing realization of the multicultural vision.

A panorama of barriers

Once again, delegates shot out in telegraphic style a succession of observed barriers. These were then assembled into clusters of like concerns under the headings of family life, cross-cultural attitudes, negative attitudes, educational system, government policy, media and community development.

In the arena of family life, delegates identified parental ignorance of their own cultures and those of others as a fundamental barrier. This lack of awareness, often accompanied by outright prejudices, is easily reproduced in the impressionable young. On the other hand, the fact of parents pushing young persons to relive what they had lived in the old world often results in conflict and total rejection of ethnic heritage.

Obstacles originating in the home have counterparts in the cross-cultural attitudes of the larger society as well. Ignorance with respect to other cultures, and ethnocentrism, provide a fertile breeding ground for prejudice. This contributes to an environment in which assimilation seems the safest recourse or failing that, a self-imposed segregation is preferred, both of which merely close the vicious circle.

Most of the observations under negative attitudes converged on one principal barrier: apathy. In a societal environment devoid of cultural understanding, youth allow their ancestral values and customs to fall into obsolescence. Completely new values come to shape their attitudes, aggravating generation gap problems, particularly where the immigrant parent remains ignorant of the Canadian lifestyle. Other factors influencing loss of ethnicity are intermarriage, and isolation of familes from others of their ethnic background. Apathy within an ethnic

community is characterized on the one hand by ignorance of, and alienation from, the mainstream community; on the other hand, it is characterized by a diminishing use of the heritage language at group meetings. The latter ultimately weakens group identity. Apathy within the mainstream community locks in stereotypic perceptions, which manifest themselves through discrimination.

Within the educational system problems centered on the continuing myth that Canada is composed of two founding nations. This basic distortion of the past disfigures the present and precludes cross-cultural understanding. School curriculum at best ignores the reality of the Native peoples and ethnic minorities; at worst, they contribute to stereotyping through cultural and racial bias. Divided jurisdiction complicates concerted national action in this area.

In the area of government policy, delegates detected a distressing degree of irresolution and unresponsiveness with respect to the needs of a functioning multiculturalism. Government commitment, beyond the facile policy announcement of 1971, is ambiguous. This is evidenced by the fact that the preambles of the new Immigration Act and the proposed new constitution fail to recognize specifically the multicultural reality of Canada. It is corroborated by insufficient funding of programs relating to education and to cultural awareness and exchange. And, cutting to the quick, is government disregard for the views of youth.

The media is guilty of omission with respect to Canada's cultural and racial minorities, according to the delegates. Mass media have a negative influence on cultural understanding because they fail to deal with the positive aspects of plurality, either in the natural course of reporting or in feature specials. The CBC itself ignores opportunities for "ethnic insider" programs.

Finally, in the arena of community development, multiculturalism does not receive the youth support that could ingrain its values in future generations of Canadians. This could be blamed in part on a lack of youth initiative, and in part on the adult society's neglecting to offer financial and human resource incentives.

However, rather than be discouraged, delegates were inspired to pinpoint the concrete measures that could be taken to remedy the situation.

The wind-up: practical proposals

With the same procedure of brainstorming and regrouping, delegates delineated the general contours of their plan of action. In summary, the plan included:

School arena - retraining of teachers; rewriting of texts; travel exchanges; heritage language immersion; multicultural flavor to core curriculum; optionnal multicultural studies, heritage assignments in the classroom; celebration of ethnic feast days; writing competitions on different aspects of Canadian plurality.

Media arena - government announcements to highlight multiculturalism; resource and technical assistance to quality ethnic programs with French/English subtitles; consultation with community groups on programs related to them; ethnic music on popular radio stations; articles on different cultures in established Canadian magazines.

Community arena - folk arts festivals at local, regional, and national levels; multiethnic youth organizations at local, regional, and national levels.

Youth arena - representation on the CCCM and on school board councils; political lobbying for action on multicultural matters; organized workshops and conferences to broaden awareness of multiculturalism.

From this rough, seemingly simplistic sketch, delegates elaborated the features of key proposals and, more importantly, set out the precise manner in which youth could start the ball rolling. Their formal presentation, embellished with a song, was indeed a practical document for youth action in multiculturalism.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Youth

Much of Workshop III was characterized by silent gaps, suspended phrases and a generally low level of verbal participation among delegates. The restraint in verbal interaction, however, must not be interpreted as inertia or apathy. Rather, it was a testimony of young minds seriously engaged in thought on an unfamiliar dimension of their society.

Even for those intimately familiar with the concepts of human rights, there are perturbing questions which defy absolute reply.

The first barrage

How do we define human rights? Two kinds of liberties are basic to any democratic system: freedom from undue interference by the state and state support of the right to individual dignity and equal access to the facilities of society. The delicate balance between civil liberties and human rights is continually challenged in real life situations. Should we tolerate hate messages in the name of freedom of expression? Is it acceptable to evoke economics in justification of denying handicapped persons access to public facilities? Should a private entrepreneur have the right to discriminatory hiring practices? Does a prison inmate need protection against undue cruelty in discipline? Should the state be allowed to survey private mail for reasons of national security?

Delegates spontaneously veered away from attempts to tackle these ambiguities. Their attention focused on the prejudices which survive legislation. If prejudice is a part of

man's nature, how can laws affect it? Prejudice is a learned attitude, learned at home, reinforced at school and entrenched through negative social interaction. One cannot legislate morality, but laws controlling behaviours, the act of discrimination, do represent a partial step toward attitudinal change. This point was supported by the example of Canada's past tradition of pioneer independence and "I'll serve whom I please" mentality, contrasted against the situation of today's merchant who, in legislative terms, cannot give free rein to his feelings in the public market place.

But something about law continued to obstruct clarification. What if the people in authority are not impartial in enforcing laws? What of prejudice in high places? Several examples were brought forward strengthening a feeling about the inconsistency of laws, the fact that too much discretionary power is involved in their interpretation. The circle closed in again on attitudes and on ignorance with respect to one's legal rights.

These threads were picked up in a more sustained fashion later, as perceptions of human rights broadened. Nudging attention back to the more sensitive aspects of rights, mention was made of the Toronto Board of Education's recent report declaring that racial slurs by students would not be tolerated. Can the school board infringe on individual rights in this way? Again, pitting one right against another failed to elicit animated debate, serving rather to confirm a disapproval of prejudicial vehemence. The sporadic comments, in fact, were beginning to suggest an increasingly coherent pattern of thought: civil liberties or no civil liberties, protection against harm or injustice to others must be implicit in the definition of freedom for all.

Filling in the facts

The knowledge deficiency troubling earlier proceedings was gradually reduced by the sharing of information. An historical sketch of the development of human rights in Canada, an outline of the legislative machinery (human rights codes and commissions), and a discussion of the concept of affirmative action assisted delegates in relating to the issue. While some vagueness persisted around the concepts of conflicting individual and group rights, class action and affirmative action, one thing was clear.

Understanding of and respect for human rights principles are primordial in a society which assumes "unity through diversity" as its national goal. At the same time, delegates recognized that such a statement is closer to an ideal than to reality.

What's wrong with reality?

Canada, officially multicultural as it is, manifests a considerable degree of "illegal" discrimination and still greater degree of "legal" prejudice. Accepting that these negative attitudes are not inherent in man, delegates came to define them as carryovers of the colonialist mentality, which equates conquered and different with inferior. The passage of these attitudes from generation to generation is facilitated by stereotyping which dehumanizes its victims and sets them apart from the monolithic, anonymous whole. This in turn facilitates the transition from discreet to overt prejudice, in that it becomes easy to strip "inferior persons" of their rights. Occupational stereotyping, exploitation and persecution become common features of a cultural dynamic which reinforces the majority position. A particularly exasperating outcome is the incidence of prejudice at all levels of

the law enforcement system, which theoretically stands behind the very rights in question.

The light is dawning

Delegates perceived that ignorance is the staunchest supporter of prejudice and the major obstacle to the redress of discrimination. As the grip tightened on this double dilemma, tongues loosened in a collective effort to define a strategy for change. But first, clarification was sought for the concepts that had not yet entirely crystallized.

One: It is the right of a group to expect that court proceedings be conducted in either of the official languages, but in order to respect the individual right of an immigrant to understand the proceedings against him, the courts have to make some provision for translation. Minor in terms of conflict, but clear enough for delegates to draw the conclusion: rights can conflict; the mutual exercise of rights and freedoms demands compromise.

Two: Class action is based on the recognition that a group has more power than an individual, stemming from the demographic traditions of majority control. Example: If your representation on the CCCM were a legal right, one youth delegate could press for class action to obtain that representation on behalf, not of himself, but of youth in general.

Three: Affirmative action is an effort to redress inequalities in opportunity that one group or another has suffered in the past. Example: If the composition of the CCCM is not a legal matter, then to ask for a certain quota of youth representatives constitutes an affirmative action type of approach. Since the concern for greater youth participation was a prominent issue in all

workshops, these examples shed the desired light on how such concepts fit into human rights.

Let the sun shine in

The strategy for change, it was agreed, must be centered around information. All persons must understand that their rights and freedoms are a function of the rights and freedoms of others. Unbridled individualism and prejudicial behaviour are an assault on the freedoms of others, as well as on the integrity of a society which proclaims itself to be egalitarian. On the other hand, all persons must understand their legal rights to be best protected. Delegates stressed that human rights legislation must be much more widely publicized, in a manner and language comprehensible to the lay public. This should be done through the news media, through pamphlets in public places, through ethnocultural groups and the educational system. Furthermore, human rights commissions should be sufficiently funded to carry out a higher profile public relations and advisory function.

To forestall the build up of prejudices, the news media and the educational system must cooperate much more in reflecting the Canadian reality and in promoting cross-cultural understanding. Ultimately, an egalitarian society must not only foster individual pride and dignity but must also assure a better integration of social classes. To conclude, the Canadian Bill of Rights should be incorporated in the Canadian constitution, as an expression of the integrity and inviolability of these principles.

Delegates left the workshop, more frustrated perhaps, but wiser too.

CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS

Youth

Not unlike its approximate counterpart (Community Leaders' Workshop on Intercultural Exchange), Youth Workshop IV began the day by feeling its way through the terminology.

Getting a conceptual grip

Culture, like a bar of soap, is definitely there but the more one tries to get a grip on it the faster it slips. Delegates bounced out a succession of words and phrases: background, lifestyle, beliefs, the way you are brought up, race identity developed through heritage, our forms of expression, language, ways of reacting, political past and present, a way of defining yourself, the expression of pride in your people. These elements condensed into two supporting notions; culture is always in transition, linking past with a moving present; culture characterizes a group phenomenon and its expression through individuals. And from that foundation the attempt was made toward a possible definition: culture is all aspects of one's lifestyle preserved through a group at a given point in time. With this loose grip, the bar of soap was content to stay.

It was spontaneously agreed that Canadian society is a mosaic of many cultures and that everyone should be aware of that fact. However, when the focus shifted to cross-cultural awareness, some conceptual contradictions were evident.

Without exchange between cultures, it was agreed, there is little awareness and the mosaic breaks into ghetto and fragmentation. For exchange to take place each group must first develop and preserve its own culture. But one cannot force people

to assume their culture and many young people reject ethnic identity for fear of being thought different from the norm. They want to be anonymous Canadians. What culture is that? What happens to culture without that proverbial mainstay, language? What about the Black Canadian being lumped in with an ethnic minority whose real common denominator is not even a culture but a color? Ironically, intercultural marriages often raise similarly heritageless Canadians, either by choice or by the simple fact that one can carry only so many hyphens after a long line of multicultural ancestors. What culture then? What exchange?

"Like, the way I see it is - here we are running around in circles ...why don't we just admit that there are many different cultures, there are many people without a specific culture - we just have to be aware of that."

This observation, in fact, brought a refreshing insight. The question to be or not to be ethnically conscious, is part of a great heritage hunt syndrome. Whereas, the essence of multiculturalism is accepting the diversity of people as they are.

Awareness is where it's at

Satisfied with a working conceptual framework, delegates searched out the enemies of awareness. One overriding barrier to awareness was quickly identified in its opposites, namely, public ignorance and beyond ignorance, the larger problem of public apathy. Probing deeper, with the wisdom of personal experience, delegates isolated some specifics. What makes the wheels of ignorance turn and the wheels of apathy stand still? Among the identified culprits were: fear of the unknown, negative stereotyping, ancestral prejudices and isolation. Furthermore, these negative elements were found to pervade much of the formative

environment of young persons: within the school, home, mass media, community leadership and even ethnic groups themselves.

Fear of the unknown both stems from ignorance and perpetuates it. A lengthy discussion on bilingualism was instructive in revealing this mechanism. At the outset, most delegates were under the impression that official bilingualism is a law binding in some way each citizen, as opposed to just the federal civil service. Because it emerged from a political arena, it was perceived by some as a thing force-fed, a menace to be resisted. Its value as a means of understanding, an important part of the Canadian mosaic, was obscured.

"The thing is, in the West we figured French was a problem between Ontario and Quebec. Then all of a sudden, there's these bilingual schools popping up all over. Like, it happened too fast and it was real scary, you know".

"Scary. Battles on the Plains of Abraham". And for contrast: "At our school, French was compulsory from grade 4, and now most kids who have the option in grade 10 don't drop it."

And to wrap up with a moral: "People hate each other because they don't understand each other; cross-cultural awareness must be stimulated at a very early age."

Delegates feel that stereotyping is a common feature of modern society, along with standardization, capsule definition and pat images. It has relatively harmless, even humorous, forms such as the caricaturing of public figures in the style typical to them as individuals. A more debatable form is that which labels a group, ignoring individual differentiation - "all Italians like garlic", "all Blacks are African". Stereotyping becomes seriously

damaging when it is no longer used with a grain of salt, but is ingrained in one's attitude towards an entire group. This form denies the possibility of change, places a stigma on being different, denies human dignity and ultimately acts as a barrier to equal opportunity in society.

For the one branded "lazy folk" the job market has no welcome; for the one branded "dirty folk" the housing market offers no access, and so on. Delegates faulted school texts written by outsiders for the stereotyping that has biased Canadians' view of their history. However, the greatest blame was placed at the door of the mass media for their many sins of stereotyping and irresponsible distortion.

Ancestral prejudices

The example of an American television commercial, showing a Black child and a white child playing in the rain, said much to delegates about ancestral prejudice. Neither child dared invite his friend home to continue the game, for fear of parental reaction. It was generally agreed that young people are open to new ideas but that the different-is-bad message persistent in the home frequently wins out, perpetuating a vicious circle of ignorance about other values and cultures. Where parents are also community leaders, the negative influence can work from an even broader base. Leaders of ethnocultural groups were explicitly included in these observations on the tenacity of prejudices.

Isolation

Banding together into ethnic groups was seen as important to the preservation of traditions, provided that the resulting solidarity gave confidence and motivation to reach out

beyond the borders of the group. Ethnic communities with a large immigrant component were seen as particularly inward-turning, as were groups with a superiority complex, or groups that settled en masse into occupations with low education requirements. In these cases "club talk" reinforces isolation and spills over into the school context through the young: "Sometimes if there are lots of, say, German or Ukrainian kids in a group, you only hear about them. They dominate the conversation and you don't even get a chance to say - hey, you know, I'm Italian".

A more disconcerting angle to the problem of isolation was seen in the fact that even good interethnic groups, such as multicultural councils, are cut off from the mainstream society, where apathy is at its greatest. "The people who care the least and should be sensitized the most should be here talking. But they never are, so how can you reach them?"

Pinning solutions on the donkey

To move that donkey, symbol of stupidity and obstinacy, one must give it some sharp pokes in the rear. It is not a job to be done blindfolded.

Changing attitudes on a meaningful scale requires the cooperation of schools, mass media, government and individuals. Many suggestions for more multicultural input in school materials and classes were offered, with the emphasis being on an expressive component, a human element to give fact more depth. To break stereotyped images of other cultures, more interaction must be encouraged, such as that offered by student exchanges. The media, it was felt, could carry short advertisements to promote cross-cultural awareness, as well as screen out negative stereotyping in regular programming. Government was blamed harshly for being

inconsistent in shifting priorities for political expediency. It was felt that a more stable, non-political status should be given to multiculturalism. Finally, individuals should speak up for multiculturalism, using neighborhood papers, community television and radio, local committees and letters to the editors of large daily newspapers.

For their part, the delegates resolved to take initiatives themselves wherever possible in their home and school environments. As their common denominator, they wished to stress that being Canadian presupposes cross-cultural awareness. They stress also that the target group for action must be youth:

"If we could just reach more young people, maybe some of them could even influence their parents' attitudes and then parents could influence their peers. And if not, well, at least tomorrow's community leaders would be a step ahead in this thing".

HERITAGE LANGUAGES

Youth

Canada's "unity in diversity" motto can hold its place in society if the two extremes of cultural retention and cross-cultural tolerance maintain a judicious balance. Workshop V expressed a lively faith in that motto, an enthusiasm for the right to cultural retention, and an eagerness to explore the role that heritage languages can play. Delegates, ranging from recent immigrants to third generation Canadians, shared an admirable level of multilingual fluency. Where fluency in an ancestral language was lacking, the sincerity of the desire to learn one brought up the balance.

Heritage languages - why bother?

No such question was asked. To delegates it was obvious that loss of language truncates culture and foredooms it to inevitable collapse. The seriousness of such a destiny lies in the consequences to the identity and self-esteem of ethnic groups, particularly for persons who remain alienated from the factory-processed, North American prototype. Witness the Native people whose culture is reduced to legend by persistent allusions to the two founding nations of Canada.

For the sake of argument, the link between language and culture was briefly challenged by the example of Vancouver's Chinese community and Saint John's Lebanese community. In the first instance, it was pointed out that second and third generation Chinese Canadians often assemble, speaking only English and sharing not in an ethnocultural event but a strictly social one. In Saint John, it was suggested, ethnic identity survived more through a common emigration and resettlement pattern than through language

retention. Granting these exceptions, delegates reaffirmed that language is the soul of a culture which is living, and is capable of creatively regenerating itself through time. Young persons without the benefit of heritage language fluency are cut off from meaningful participation in their respective ethnic communities. That in turn blocks motivation to back-track and acquire the language which by then has become remote. In other words, the link between culture and language can be described more accurately as one of interdependence.

If ancestral language has psychic bonds with ancestral culture, language ability in general cannot but have value in itself. Delegates lamented the fact that being multilingual is still not as readily appreciated in North America as elsewhere in the world. It was pointed out that research shows language to be a vehicle through which the thought process is stimulated.

Consequently, knowledge of several languages broadens the cognitive system, leading to increased intellectual potential, a more stable self-image, and more open-minded attitudes toward other cultures. In this perspective, learning one's ancestral language, or that of others, should be viewed as an important component of multiculturally oriented education.

Why does heritage language still look like a battle to be won, in spite of its importance to individual groups and to our multicultural society? Delegates began to exchange observations on various aspects of that question.

Factors influencing language retention

Acquisition of the ancestral language at an early age was thought by all to be a key factor of retention. Delegates

observed that children absorb languages with a natural ease. Moreover, early exposure can implant a certain linguistic facility, on which one can capitalize in later years, even if the original language in the meantime slips into disuse. Travel to the "old country" can be particularly effective in reactivating passive knowledge and stimulating linguistic curiosity.

If an early learning base is essential, parents must implicitly be the chief, initial source of language education. The family supper table gives many young persons the needed start. Referring to Franco-Albertans, one delegate pointed out that getting through the childhood years with home support gives one the chance to tap into other resources later, such as bilingual universities and French language organizations. The irony, of course, is that in some cases the young resent and resist parental efforts to teach them a language which would differentiate them from their English speaking peers. In other cases, it is the parents who, succumbing to earlier forces of discrimination and assimilative pressure, have abandoned ethnic allegiance. Delegates also expressed a feeling that, as the immigrant parent moves up the socio-economic ladder, dedication to passing down language and culture diminishes. The unhappy result is that, in an age where "ethnic is in", the young sometimes must forage generations back to unearth their ethnic roots. The potentially valuable headstart of an ancestral language is pre-empted by the parents' own ignorance of that language.

A variant of the same predicament can be seen within ethnocultural groups formed by various waves of immigration. The earliest arrivals shed their foreignness posthaste, in the interests of survival. The later arrivals, finding a more receptive environment, proudly retain their language which, however, no longer serves as a common denominator with the first group. These

broken links in the chain of continuity were thought to weaken the ethnic fabric, and certainly to frustrate attempts at repossessing the language of that culture.

Even if parents do inculcate a pride in the ancestral language, other hurdles stand in the way of its retention, outside the home. An English speaking social circle, an English (language) educational system, and an overwhelmingly anglicized and Americanized mass media network engulf the young person and rob him of the opportunity to use his mother tongue once the kitchen door closes. In essence, he is faced with a more discreet form of what his forefathers experienced, public ignorance and veiled discouragement of any resistance to Anglo-standardization. Delegates recognized that multiculturalism is still a largely unknown, and therefore unconsciously rejected, reality.

The supplementary school system was seen to be a useful, if partial, vehicle for language retention. Several drawbacks were noted, however. Some schools receive considerable support from the mother country, in the form of textbooks and accreditation, while others have absolutely no access to such resources. The quality of teaching can vary drastically, since most schools must rely on volunteerism. The diligent student struggles with this sometimes considerable extra-curricular workload but receives no credits for his knowledge. Communities of low ethnic density frequently lack the ability to mobilize resources for such educational ventures. Francophone delegates commented that language retention for them was greatly facilitated by the immersion study opportunities supported at both federal and provincial levels.

These various observations steered attention directly toward the formal educational system. The legislative provisions for third language immersion training in Alberta and Saskatchewan were elevated as glowing examples of what might be a desired solution across the country. Indeed formal education was discussed not as a potential factor of retention but as a demand to be forcefully articulated along with other proposals.

The positive thrust

To motivate study of ancestral languages, the educational environment first of all must be more conscientiously multicultural. That is, core curriculum and texts should reflect the contribution of all cultures to past and present nation-building. Delegates deplored the preponderance of American influence in the schools and stressed the need for greater overall Canadian content in studies such as literature and history. The learning atmosphere must be one that encourages all to shine with confidence within the mosaic.

Turning to bilingual education, delegates put the concept of "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" to the unavoidable test. At the outset, two distinct streams of thought bore down on the issue. One view argued that heritage languages must not be confused with, nor take precedence over, Canada's two official languages. The other view implied, in less forthright terms, the legitimacy of a bilingualism which relegates one or the other official language to a weak third-language status. The divergence of thought was really a question of emphasis. It was, however, peacefully reconciled in the view that heritage language learning implies acquisition of three languages, in whatever sequence, by the time of high school graduation. This trilingual perspective respects the country's commitment to official

bilingualism, while claiming the right to heritage language immersion early within the public school system. In recognition of the difficulties facing smaller or more dispersed ethnic communities, delegates also wished to see some form of assistance for those who would need to relocate to take advantage of such schooling.

The finger then pointed to the mass media. Delegates were again vigorous in their denunciation of American influence, and urged patriation of the Canadian identity. Greater media attention to Canada's plurality was seen as an important step in that direction. Also, to further legitimize the use of heritage languages, delegates wished to see increased aid to the ethnic press and broadcasting media, as well as more multilingual programming on the CBC.

Numerous other suggestions were brought forward, strengthening the conviction that multiculturalism is a valuable dimension of society, if only all would recognize it.

National unity

Balkanization, Tower of Babel, ethnocentricism were notions that surfaced from time to time in the course of discussions. Indeed, delegates were well aware of the threats latent in excessive ethnic cohesion and, accordingly, stressed their pride in being Canadian, and their pride in an identity woven out of multiculturalism and the French fact.

Delegates valued this conference for the opportunity it offered for interregional and cross-cultural sharing, the type of communication which is essential to strength and unity in Canadian pluralism.

COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOP I

INTER-CULTURAL EXCHANGE - A KEY TO UNITY

Chairman - Mr. George M. Koutchougoura

Resource Persons:
Dr. James Frideres
Ms. Anita Kolbuc
Mr. Carl Taylor
Mr. Peter Westaway

Departmental Liaison:
Mr. David MacLean
Mrs. Stella Ohan

1. Whereas Canadian unity is very important for the understanding, security and acceptance of different ethnic groups;
and whereas Canadian unity is essential for the smooth running of our country;

be it resolved that, to preserve Canadian unity, intercultural exchange be implemented by

a) educating the Canadian mass, especially young people, by news media, government publications and through our education system and:

b) by performance of artistic culture of different ethnic groups.

2. It is recommended that we Canadians from different backgrounds should share our very rich cultures with all Canadians, old and young. We feel that we can supply intercultural voluntary exchange in schools, libraries and even in the local churches.

We should get involved in the Home and School Boards of our children, scout movements, etc. We should know what kind of Canadian community services are available around us.

We should like to suggest that our native tongues and customs should definitely be promoted in our homes, but let us show our children how proud we are to be Canadians. Let it be a two way street.

3. Unity depends on the relationship between individuals and groups, particularly the respect for each other's differences, therefore:

   a) We request that through training of teachers and pupils, our educational system emphasize respect for each other's differences and the interchange of cultures;

   b) We request that the radio, TV and other media present cultural differences of Canadians and emphasize the importance to Canadian unity of respecting each other's cultural differences and the right of citizens to retain the culture of their choice.

4. It is proposed to establish channels from our multicultural heritage towards an artistic and creative level, thus enriching the Canadian cultural mainstream and stimulating the intercultural exchange we are proposing to:

   a) Ask writers and playwrights, to write on multicultural problems;

   b) commission composers to use our folk songs as material for compositions;

   c) commission writers and composers to use our folk legends for children's plays and operas;

d) guide artists to new creativity using folk art as source of inspiration;

e) establish multicultural concert series with artists of different ethnic origin and establish an exchange program between the communities and provinces.

5. It is resolved that appointments to the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism in the future take into account the representativeness of multicultural organizations across the country, that the advice of these organizations be sought for these appointments.

6. The view of this group is that the danger to national unity lies primarily in the regional differences of the country, in particular with reference to the relationship of Quebec with the rest of Canada and not in the relationship between the various cultures represented in given communities.

It is therefore resolved that the groups represented here recognize the cultural aspirations of the French Canadians in Quebec and wish to convey to them a message of goodwill and the conviction that ways and means can and will be found to secure for Quebec its rightful place within Canada.

In support of the above the assembled delegates resolve to recommend to their respective groups that they involve themselves in the debate on national unity so that we remain a united Canada.

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NOTE

The above recommendations have been put together at the workshop itself, voted by the group and presented here without editing.

COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOP II

THE FUTURE OF ETHNOCULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CANADA

Chairman - Mr. Tom O'Leary

Resource Persons:
Mr. John Fisher
Mr. Terry Mactaggart
Mr. F. Obljubek
Mr. Roman Petryshyn
Mr. Tran Ha-Viet

Departmental Liaison:
Ms. Susan Lewis
Mr. Eric Lugtigheid

The workshop was structured towards a discussion of self-help objectives and strategies. We are pleased that to a great extent we were successful in keeping the deliberations focused on these issues.

However, during the closing session which was oriented to the formulation of resolutions and recommendations considerable anxiety was expressed about the ability of organizations to work constructively with one another in furthering common objectives. This anxiety was expressed as arising from:

i. fear of loss of cultural identity
ii. lack of commonality with regard to major problems and key issues
iii. a mistrust on the part of communities with respect to the motivations of one another and depth of commitment to effective action.

In order to understand these expressions of anxiety it is useful and constructive to draw upon the deliberations which took place for most of the workshop day. The discussions focused upon the

evolving nature of communities and organizations from the earliest stages of new immigrant communities to more self-sufficient and established communities. Within the spectrum ranging from recently arrived groups to longer established groups, a large number of variables are at work related to, e.g., the age profile, the socio-economic status, the educational status, the political situation in the home country, etc.

These variables determine to a great extent the degree of cultural cohesiveness and openness to the larger society. Many communities are unable or reluctant to be adaptive and dynamic for fear of losing their identity which provides them with a sense of security; yet, at the same time, it is realized that in the long term the resistance to change is not working to the advantage of communities.

It was forcefully pointed out that new strategies are required which will not threaten ethnicity and identity but which will provide for access to the institutions of the wider society.

It was suggested that an effective method for coalescing inter-ethnic actions was to do so, albeit temporarily, around issues which reflect common concerns. These temporary coalitions, welded out of ethnic self-interest within two or more ethnic groups, would not only give momentum towards solution of perceived problems but would also generate new avenues for interethnic cooperation. The understanding which can develop in the short run, might produce mutual self-respect and broader intergroup understanding in the long run. It was postulated that this is a goal beyond the expectation of the social engineer but within reach of the practical and self-effacing leadership of ethnic communities working in concert.

This may, indeed, reflect a politicization of the ethnic community around issues of immediate and powerful, practical or emotional import. At the same time, this also represents a furtherance of the Canadianization of ethnic groups as they become committed to social change and a redistribution of political and economic power within the larger society of which the are a constituent part.

A number of challenging comments and suggestions were made on the subject of accessing the corporate sector for obtaining financial assistance for ethnocultural community projects. This subject generated animated discussion which might lead to positive change.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Be it resolved that the CCCM call upon the corporate sector:

   a) to disclose total monies available to not-for-profit organizations;
   b) to publish, in corporate annual reports, criteria for obtaining such funds.

   Be it further resolved that the CCCM undertake to publish a list of corporations complying with this request.

2. Whereas it is recognized that the ability of ethnocultural organizations to survive depends upon the interest and involvement of young Canadians, be it resolved that the office of the Multiculturalism Directorate continue to encourage young people to participate in multicultural activities.

3. Be it resolved that appointments to the CCCM reflect the need for representation of young people.

4. Be it resolved that ethnocultural organizations advocate access to decision-making structures at all levels of Canadian political, social and economic systems by encouraging the active participation of members of minority communities.

5. Be it resolved that on a local, regional and national basis further consideration be given to the formation of short-term alliances of ethnocultural organizations to deal with specific issues.

6. Be it resolved that there is a recognized need for social animators who can mobilize ethnocultural communities.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

Presentation made by Mr. Tom O'Leary

I would like to make just a few comments on the process that occurred in our workshop on some of the analysis of what is happening to ethnocultural organizations in Canada today, the kind of different socioeconomic and cultural forces to which they are subject.

Our workshop seemed to reflect that, while there are attempts to bring various ethnic organizations together through multicultural councils, etc., there is a fundamental feeling of suspicion and mistrust and insecurity about the concerns of government agencies (federal and provincial), other agencies, other ad hoc councils, as opposed to the very real priorities of their organizations, given very limited financial and sometimes human resources. First of all, in analysing the day's proceedings there was an element of suspicion and mistrust.

In terms of future coalition building, which was a theme that came up all day, the ability to establish viable coalitions on a national level involving all ethnic groups is utopian, to say the least. The priorities, the realities, in which each ethnic oganization operates can be significantly different from the local community organization made up of newly arrived visible immigrants and the organization that represents a large group of individuals who do not come from a visible minority group and have had a presence in Canada for a long time. To bring those people into one room and to discuss the future of ethnocultural organizations presupposes a shared agenda which certainly was not there. You cannot take issues of language retention, of cultural retention and of education, and ask that these share the same podium with issues

of jobs, of housing and of mere survival. You cannot take language retention and put it next to racism and say they are the same thing. You cannot talk about umbrella organizations as something common to all because, at the present stage of development in Canada at least, our workshop seemed to reflect a state of 'us and them'.

I think there was a concern about whether multiculturalism is, in fact, an essential aspect of Canadian society or whether it was a recently hatched chicken. The issue became crystallized in the discussion around the constitutional issues and the fact that, if multiculturalism is a reflection of the reality of the country, then it should be an essential part of any preamble to a Canadian constitution.

There was also some concern in our group about the need for organizations to become much less dependent on government in the future. That is the future direction for ethnocultural organizations if they are going to grow within the Canadian context. You have to break the umbilical cord as it exists now. They should work in cooperation and in partnership with government, but not in a dependency relationship. They should reach out to other institutions in the community and form relationships with the corporate sector, the labour sector, the educators, and many others which would diminish the awful dependency that exists.

Finally, it became very important in our discussion group to recognize the increasing need for ethnic organizations to become a truly viable political force. There is a need for ethnic organizations to recognize the broader economic and social realities in which they operate, recognize their shared interests and form short-term coalitions of people who have a shared objective, a shared common cause and to use the political process to its fullest

in achieving those kinds of objectives. Rather than starting out with a large umbrella group which is so diverse with so many agendas, the priorities should be at the grass roots, at the community level with individuals forming short-term coalitions with other ethnic groups, with other community organizations, with other interest groups, on common causes in order to participate more fully in the Canadian democratic process. That seemed to be at least one reality that flowed out of our discussion group. Again, perhaps to bring home this idea of coalitions and divergence of opinion and analysis, I would like to depart from the procedure that was laid down in the presentation of reports, and ask an individual, Mr. Bayani Lagac of Toronto, who represents a particular perspective within our particular workshop to come forward and supplement or hopefully complement my remarks on this point.

Presentation made by Mr. Bayani Lagac

I am pleased to have the opportunity to present a perspective different form the report on the substance of discussion. This is not a minority report because the workshop did not vote or endeavour to vote on the group's position on the issue. This is simply the other side of the coin. These are the points that were left off by the report or what we feel were left off by the report. Self-reliance. The Vietnamese resource person, the lady from the Dutch community and the Philipino delegate emphasized the use of inner resources, the use of group means instead of dole outs from government or business. The report tends to project that the whole group is only interested in getting more resources from others than themselves. This also brings out the questions of divergence in priorities. The criteria for funding or assisting groups should be structured to the needs of the group. The more established ethnic groups could want theatre, arts, influence, perhaps power or

visibility. The other groups might want the bread and butter issues. We might not be able to understand anthropological, historical, multicultural things but we do understand when we are stereotyped to a restaurant, stereotyped to a hotel, stereotyped into the non-flatwork and this is perhaps a perspective of, not only a perceived need but a definite day-to-day need of the more visible minorities in terms perhaps of habit and skin.

A group also questioned the selection of the resource persons because we wanted to get more from them than we got. I personally feel there was a highly questionable perspective in one resource person, who said that success of an organization depends on not going into controversial issues because there will just be dichotomy. A perspective within the workshop feels that we cannot confront all the discussion with just politeness and artificiality. In fact, we were happy to be given the opportunity to speak now on this other point of view because we say we cannot just be polite all our lives. If we cannot speak in front of our multicultural leaders now, we should keep peace forever.

One of the major points, too, is that in obtaining money, one should get it from the government or the business sector and do with it what you will. We felt that a proper perspective would be, "Let's also think of the principle, when we want to accept the principle".

When the report was done, it was felt that it did not properly reflect the discussions - that it was distilled to the point of view of the Resource Person or perhaps that of the Chairman. Some in the group felt that a subject much discussed was the enshrinement of multiculturalism in the constitution. Some felt that when it is enshrined in the constitution it will be basic to the survival of multiculturalism ensuring that our group, or any

other multicultural group, would not be used as a political football. When the Liberals want to win, they come to us, or when the Conservatives want a point they use us and the NDP could do the same. The Créditistes, the other major national party, may do the same. We felt the survival of ethnicity in Canada should be in the constitution and not as a matter of government policy. This was not reflected in the report.

Also while we believe that youth are good and they are really the hope of the future, they are not, as the report says, the survival of Canada because we are living in the present. Survival is the present. And this is what a group within the workshop felt and in the context of discussion, youth were just mentioned in passing. The real question was the divergence on the mode and quality of the selection of the CCCM members. Many of the participants felt that the CCCM is becoming a senate and not a house of commons. That most members were not even in the front line of day-to-day ethnic struggles. That a lot of the national organizations were here because of the charm and graciousness of those at the centre of power. These are a few of the views that were expressed and were not in the report.

We felt that we had to speak to you because, other than this group, there will never be any other forum as sympathetic to us as yourselves.

COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOP III

HUMAN RIGHTS AND RACE RELATIONS IN CANADA

Chairwoman: Professor Mary Sun, Ph.D.

Panelists:
Ms. Suzanne Blais Grenier
Ms. Jacqueline Jean-Baptiste
Professor Jack Kehoe
Ms. Joya Sen
Mrs. Margaret Strongitharm
Dr. B. Ubale
Professor K. Victor Ujimoto, Ph.D.

Departmental Liaison:
Mr. Richard Young

A. STATEMENTS

1. The protection of cultural rights is a basic human right. Inherent in the multicultural policy is the guarantee of the values and traditions of all ethnocultural groups in Canada. In a sense therefore, the multicultural policy is a policy of domestic human rights.

2. Racism in Canada cuts across all socioeconomic life and permeates all levels of society. It is manifested in immigration and employment practices in both the private and public sectors, in educational institutions, housing and the media, etc.

3. In Canada, common law traditionally places a higher priority on property rights rather than on human rights. The time has now come for us to re-examine our values and priorities.

4. While the multicultural policy is working towards closer intercultural relations, it is also observed that within certain

ethnocultural groups the paradoxical trend seems to be towards self-imposed isolation.

5. While laws at both the federal and provincial levels are necessary for the protection of basic human rights, they are however of limited value in terms of affecting attitudinal changes. Therefore, other strategies or mechanisms must be sought to ensure a positive perception of visible minority and disadvantaged groups. Areas where changes might be effected are:

   a) education,
   b) media,
   c) activities promoting positive race relation programs at the community and neighbourhood levels, and
   d) public services where there are direct personal contacts with the public eg. those involving immigration, law enforcement, unemployment insurance benefits and welfare etc.

6. In terms of strategy to promote positive race relations and to enhance national unity, it is necessary to move away from the prevailing linear approach to that of holistic strategy. Participation at the political level has been suggested as a possible viable avenue towards achieving a reality of equal opportunity in decision making.

7. The schools should be encouraged to adopt strategies that are effective in persuading students to accept the ethnocultural diversity in Canada. However, the school should not be looked upon as a panacea. Schools are perceived to be more successful in the area of citizenship education than they have demonstrated. A wider community effort is essential.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that:

1. The public sector demonstrate its commitment to eradicating racism; appointments to federal boards and commissions reflect the multicultural composition of our society and that affirmative action programs be introduced in the federal civil service;

2. The multicultural policy in as much as it provides guarantees for basic human rights, must be entrenched in the new constitution;

3. The rights of the Native Indian women be recognized and that this fact be so reflected in future revisions of the Indian Act with expediency;

4. The CCCM place special emphasis on the issues of human rights and racism by forming study groups or committees to respond to such concerns; and

5. Ethnocultural community groups accept greater responsibility of actively promoting cooperation among themselves with the view of bringing about better understanding and positive race relations among all Canadians.

6. The Multiculturalism Directorate study with the view to implementing recommendations submitted by the CCCM Human Rights Standing Committee in 1977.

COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOP IV

MULTICULTURALISM AND CANADIAN IDENTITY

Chairman - Professor Cornelius Jaenen

Resource Persons:
Professor Jean Daigle
Professor René Dionne
Dr. Ronald Haycock
Professor James Miller
Mr. Francis C. Muldoon, O.C.
Dr. Henry Radecki

Departmental Liaison:
Mr. Myron Momryk
Dr. John Zvalo

Professor Jaenen opened the workshop by asking the panel to introduce themselves. Each panel member gave a description of his ideas, concepts and definitions of Canadian identity in the context of his own regional and ethnocultural experience. The Chairman then summarized these views and statements by concluding that there are different concepts of Canadian identity based on a diversity of approaches to the question of identity or identities,

- diversity of views with respect to socialization or integration into Canadian and regional society
- diversity of interests (regional, occupational, linguistic, etc.) which are always related more or less to ethnic consciousness, depending on individual or group
- diversity of experiences of groups and individuals within groups

The participants and resource people (panel) in the workshop made a number of statements and recommendations which can be summarized as follows, concerning national identity and its development:

1. Multiculturalism which reflects the regional, linguistic and cultural diversity of the nation best defines the Canadian identity.

2. The need for better cross-cultural communication. The concept of multiculturalism should be explained to all Canadians in a manner which can be understood by all.

3. The need for greater reflection in school curricula of the multicultural reality.

4. There appears to be great faith in the potential role of the school in fostering mutual understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity.

5. Concurrent and overlapping federal, provincial and local responsibility for educational and cultural development complicates a legislative approach to redressing inequities and oversights.

6. Identity is formed by the demographic base of the country. Each region should develop its own identity.

7. Some participants expressed the need for a National Ministry of Canadian Culture to promote and protect all cultures in Canada.

8. The future of Canadian society depends on the willingness of her people to identify themselves as Canadians.

9. Cultural plurality must be confirmed and be stated as an objective of Canadian society within any new Canadian Constitution.

10. Multiculturalism at the federal level continues to exist by cabinet fiat, and all consequential positions taken have not

been embodied in legislation which would have required debate in Parliament. There was some expression of the desirability of a statutory status being accorded to multiculturalism; this would require some administrative reorganization.

11. Multiculturalism is seen by some as cultural policy within a bilingual and integrated Canada. It should determine its priorities according to regional and group priorities.

12. Unfortunately, the multicultural nature of Canadian society, it was felt, is barely reflected in the composition of various government bodies of national and international significance. This applies also to Privy Council level.

In summary, the workshop expressed a feeling that presently social, cultural and educational institutions do not reflect sufficiently the multicultural aspect of Canadian identity.

The concept of Canadian identity is a still-developing phenomenon and government agencies should assist in its harmonious development in the interest of all Canadians whatever their background and origin and in the interest of Canadian unity.

COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOP V

CANADIAN PLURALISM - MEDIA AND EDUCATION

Chairman - Professor R. Rupert

Resource Persons:
Dr. J. Kage
Mr. L. Tataryn
Mr. Ahzar Ali Khan
Professor Neil McDonald
Mr. Dean Wood
Professor J. Lamontagne

Departmental Liaison:
Mr. Ricardo Smith
Ms. Roberta Russell

The committee on Canadian Pluralism in Media and Education has separated these two matters for reporting purposes.

In view of the wide variety of expressed concerns of the delegates, the diversity of thought on some of these matters and the limited time available, this report is not presented as a thorough digest of all that was said.

It is, rather, a summary of those matters upon which consensus was possible and a statement of that consensus.

It is our understanding that the Ministry will prepare and distribute a complete and detailed report of the proceedings of this workshop to which this report will be, at best, an introduction.

Media

The media group expressed dissatisfaction with the media in general. There was a strong sentiment that a national interethnic media committee be organized to monitor and improve media performance.

Not enough of the visible minorities for example worked for the CBC in front of cameras. It was noted that the CBC has more multicultural programs than all others. Only the CBC attended the media group.

A number of recommendations were made as follows:

- that the media improve their reporting of minorities emphasizing their positive aspects;

- that the media hire more reporters, performers, masters of ceremonies and others whose work is viewed by the public from the ethnic minorities;

- that the CRTC enforce the rules regarding TV licensing performance in respect to multicultural programming;

- that TV in prime time have more multicultural programming;

- that multicultural groups establish a media committee to coordinate in-house ethnic news as well as monitoring the mass media to enable the media to improve their programming and reporting;

- that the movie house industry be encouraged to show more films made by the National Film Board;

- that the aforementioned media committee should collect a catalogue of audiovisual tapes for interprovincial exchange on cable;

- that the people on the boards of directors of agencies (e.g. National Film Board, National Museum) reflect the multicultural identity of the country.

Canadian pluralism in the media and education

Resolutions of the Education Sub-Committee:

1. Be it resolved that:
   the Minister of State for Multiculturalism should confer with provincial Ministers of Education to discuss cooperation between federal and provincial governments relative to promoting policies and programs of multiculturalism in education.

2. Be it resolved that:
   provincial ministers of education and school boards be encouraged to formulate and implement within their jurisdictions policies of multiculturalism which reflect the cultural pluralism of the Canadian population.

3. Be it resolved that:
   provincial ministers of education and school boards develop and implement affirmative action hiring policies and programs.

4. Be it resolved that:
   a national committee be established to coordinate multicultural educational activities across Canada. This committee should represent provincial offices of education, multicultural societies, and other appropriate educational resource people.

5. Be it resolved that:
   steps be taken to professionally document the many and varied facets of the ethnic experience in Canada. To this end we recommend that nationally coordinated research be encouraged through institutions of higher education, institutes of ethnic studies, the National Museum, Public Archives of Canada, etc. and that this research be done in consultation with

representatives of the appropriate ethnic communities.

6. Be it resolved that:
the Multiculturalism Directorate compile and make available information concerning existing materials which express the ethnic experience in Canada and the activities of existing multicultural education programs.

7. Be it resolved that:
the National Committee for Multicultural Education sponsor and promote the development of strategies:

a) to promote positive attitudes, beliefs and values relative to ethnic diversity;

b) to promote programs to assist teachers in implementing multicultural education in the classroom, e.g. pre-service and in-service education;

c) that students receive credit for heritage language and cultural programs which take place outside the regular school curriculum;

d) that the faculties of education be encouraged to provide special training in multicultural studies.

8. Be it resolved that:

a) provincial funds be guaranteed to accomplish the above resolutions;

b) with provincial approval, supplementary federal funds be provided to accomplish the above resolutions

c) sources of private funding be developed especially through the ethnic communities to accomplish the above resolutions;

d) funds be made available to non-governmental organizations in a position to implement the above resolutions.

The delegates in this workshop wish to thank the Multiculturalism Directorate, the CCCM and the Honourable Norman Cafik for making it possible for Canadians from across Canada to come to Ottawa to participate in the important business at this conference.

General Statement from the Youth Workshops

Whereas the youth are the leaders of the future and should have a significant input into government policy; and

Whereas youth delegates have been involved in numerous multicultural conferences in the last seven years; and

Whereas concrete recommendations have been made; and

Whereas those recommendations have not been followed and no permanent procedure for continuous consultation with youth has yet been established; and

Whereas the segregation of youth and adult delegates precludes effective interaction between the two groups;

Therefore be it resolved that youth have a full and active role to play on the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism.

YOUTH WORKSHOP I

EDUCATION

Resource Person:
Dr. Ratna Ghosh

Departmental Liaison:
Ms Carole Ann Soong
Mr. Sam Baney

The youth of today, leaders of tomorrow, are essential elements in the development of a truly multicultural society. The role of education in this process cannot be stressed too highly. It is the school which in the vast majority of cases provides the first meeting place of the various young Canadians. The realities of Canadian life that they infer as a result of both this curricular and extra-curricular education will shape their view of themselves, and the people around them. However, cultural pluralism and ethnic tolerance must be engraved in the hearts and minds of all young Canadians, at the earliest possible moment in their educational careers. Education can guarantee the growth of understanding and goodwill among all elements of Canadian society and thus ensure a truly pluralistic future.

A guiding principle for the Youth Workshop on Education was the belief that unless a new generation of Canadians is taught to remember its origins, these origins will die with our parents and grandparents. Canada's educational system, we believe, must facilitate, and ideally, promote this individual personal growth and ethnic awareness.

We do recognize, however, certain practical constraints which are placed on the government of Canada in any attempt it may choose to undertake in the pursuit of an educational system which shall reflect Canada's multicultural reality. Among these constraints are the different levels of government and their numerous competing

jurisdictions. Namely, that education is a provincial matter, while multiculturalism is a federal one, and often the money used for both is derived from local taxation.

Obviously this overlapping structure is not conducive to the efficient development of a more multicultural education. We appreciate these difficulties, and have taken them into consideration when formulating the various recommendations which follow.

We applaud Prime Minister Trudeau's summation of the ideal nature of multiculturalism in Canada: "A multicultural Canadian within a bilingual framework". We believe therefore that all of Canada's youth should be taught the two official languages, both French and English. In addition, we recommend that students in Canadian public schools should be provided with instruction in their ancestral language, if they so desire. The only criteria which should be used in deciding which ancestral language is to be taught in which school is the size of the individual ethnic groups that make up the surrounding community. The concept of community use of schools is important in another aspect as well. There should be, we believe, a provision for the instruction of ethnic folk arts based on the same criteria as in the case of the above-mentioned ancestral languages. A "free-flow" pool of ancestral language and folk-arts teachers will assist in the realization of this concept. In addition, we advocate the provision of funds to independent culturally alternative schools. These schools fulfill a void that the public schools cannot be asked to fill by their very nature.

We recommend that monies be made available to the provincial ministries of education so as to facilitate the development of the following:

- The implementation of a "Canadian Studies" course. This course should be designed so as to provide the student with an understanding of the diversity of elements that made up and continue to make up Canada. This course should be initiated among Canada's youth at the earliest possible moment in the student's academic career. We have envisioned a number of components to this course, among them is the instruction at a basic level of the demographic, sociological and historical nature of Canada's evolution. Another component is a discussion of comparative religious and cultural beliefs and norms. We suggest the usage of the hitherto neglected resource of popular experience through the encouragement of interaction between student and members of the surrounding community, specifically, senior citizens..

- The Canadian Studies Program should make increased use of textbooks that both more adequately reflect Canada's culturally pluralistic reality, and have had input from the various ethnic groups that have helped create that reality. This program should continue throughout the academic life of the student.

- At the university level we suggest the formation of a university Centre for the Study of Multiculturalism, whose aims shall include advanced study of the philosophical implications of Canadian multiculturalism along with the development of a resource centre which would provide for the dissemination of new and multiculturally oriented teaching materials.

- We suggest that the use of media, in the form of educational television, National Film Board presentations, and perhaps cablevision should be made to reflect fairer representation of multicultural Canada and provisions should be made for the increased use of these methods in the schools. We acknowledge

that studies must be made to determine the effectiveness of such devices in the educational system.

- Changes in pedagogy will be rendered impotent without the cooperation of the teachers themselves. We believe that all teachers must demonstrate an understanding and acceptance of cultural tolerance. Teachers should make increasingly large use of devices such as "content analysis" in the selection of teaching materials, and we cannot stress too highly the important asset of having bilingual teachers in all provinces.

During the implementation of such a program, necessary resources have to be made available to the educators. Cultural groups have to play a larger role in orientating the individual teaching staff to different ethnic groups. Resources such as guest speakers and periodicals have to be made readily available to the staff to improve the student's awareness of multiculturalism through the teacher's awareness of multiculturalism.

At the individual student level, we recognize the importance of both ethnic clubs within individual schools, and interscholastic exchanges of students from different ethnic backgrounds and the importance of expansion in this area.

In conclusion, there are two salient points to be made with regard to multiculturalism and the school system. The first is that provincial governments are responsible for creating the climate necessary for the development of ethnic groups. The second is that a solid foundation for the Canadian mosaic can be established through the pedagogical system we have described. If an effective school program is developed it will promote the growth of cultural orientations. Our purpose in preparing this report was to encourage free exchanges among all the ethnic groups which are woven into the fabric of Canadian society.

The recommendations of our Workshop correspond to the myriad ambitions cherished by young Canadians across the country. We hope that these recommendations will encourage the various levels of government to take the necessary action to ensure that we shall some day see our labours bear fruit. We are convinced that Canada's identity is to be found in its rich and extensive cultural diversity.

Lastly, we wish to express our gratitude for this opportunity to take part in the discussion groups associated with the Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism and to discuss our views on a subject of national importance. We are sincerely grateful, and eagerly look forward to our next entry into such a forum.

YOUTH WORKSHOP II

YOUTH ACTION IN MULTICULTURALISM

Resource Person:
Mr. Kenneth Fisher

Departmental Liaison:
Ms Christyna Hnatiw
Mr. Jean-Robert Marcoux

SONG

In 1867 Canada came together,
To make our country strong and true.
Although there were some problems
All races, creeds and colours,
Really worked to make it through.

We'd like to get to know ya!
Dance a czardas for ya!
Share some ouzo, saki too.
Meet some brand new races,
Learn of different places.
Wishing them a bienvenue.

Now we'd really like to see ya!
Enjoy some Perrogies and Pizza!
Learn to do the Limbo too.
Set some ethnic paces,
Establish warm embraces.
Multiculturalism we're with you.

CONTRADICTIONS

Contradiction 1: Parental Cultural Awareness

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

Social image -- parental ignorance of either their own culture or other cultures - home prejudice.

THIS INDICATES THAT THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION IS that the parents, who are the cultural teachers, are past oriented.

THIS CONTRADICTION IS ILLUSTRATED BY
Cultural ghettos or total assimilation into the Canadian way of life.

Contradiction 2: Irresolution and Unresponsiveness in the Arena of Government Policies

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

1. Failure to take youth views into account.

2. Lack of government responsiveness to multicultural needs.

3. An ambiguous attitude and lack of definite commitment to multiculturalism (especially financial commitment).

THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTIONS ARE lack of government leadership and lack of public awareness.

THESE CONTRADICTIONS ARE ILLUSTRATED BY

1. the fact that the preambles of both the new immigration act and the proposed new constitution fail to specifically recognize or support multiculturalism.

2. insufficient funding of Native cultural awareness and educational programs

3. cutbacks in, or insufficient funding of, cultural, social and educational spending, with particular reference to post-secondary education and to the cultural enrichment program.

Contradiction 3: Curriculum -- Myth or Reality in the Arena of Education System

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

1. the history of Anglo-French domination of the schools system

2. not enough cross-cultural awareness

THIS INDICATES THAT THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION IS that the education system reflects the myth of only two founding nations and does not portray the reality of the new nation.

THE CONTRADICTION IS ILLUSTRATED BY

1. the fact that there is no mention of Canadian history regarding ethnic minorities and Native Canadians;

2. there is no representation of multicultural reality in the form of immigrant teachers;

3. curriculum is present in form of bicultural reality.

Contradiction 4: Narrow-Mindedness Blocking Multiculturalism

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

1. Old cultural values and customs are lost because of a lack of interest, therefore a new value system is established.

2. Coordinating ethnic groups by group leaders is often difficult because of lack of motivation in the community.

3. Youth are not aware of their cultural background because it is not prominent in their family environment; i.e.:

   a) intermarriages -- tend to lose ethnicity because of two different nationalities marrying.

   b) if a family is the only one of their ethnic background in a region, there is no reinforcement of culture.

THIS INDICATES THAT THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION IS narrow-mindedness of group leaders and members affecting internal structures of group and surrounding environment.

THIS CONTRADICTION IS ILLUSTRATED BY

1. nationality of Pope;

2. interference in youth groups by dominating adults.

Contradiction 5: Lack of Knowledge of Other Cultures in the Arena of Flexibility of Cross Cultural Attitudes

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

prejudice, lack of knowledge of other cultures, too many cultures wanting to keep to themselves.

THIS INDICATES THAT THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION IS that a lack of knowledge of the characteristics of other cultures may bring on prejudice which could cause people to go into their own cultural shell.

THIS CONTRADICTION IS ILLUSTRATED BY a girl not being able to speak her classmates' language being rejected and going into a shell.

Contradiction 6: Lack of Multicultural Exposure in the Arena of the Mass Media

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

1. Poor quality programs

2. Lack of money for better programs

3. Poor programming

4. Continuing articles in newspapers and magazines -- or a magazine dedicated to culture.

THIS INDICATES THAT THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION IS poor quality.

THIS CONTRADICTION IS ILLUSTRATED BY poor television shows, no ethnic group articles in paper, no good cross-cultural magazines.

Contradiction 7: Youth Initiative in Community Development

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS EXIST

1. Lack of initiative

2. Prejudice

3. Lack of resources and resource people

THIS INDICATES THAT THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTION IS lack of initative by the youth, lack of resources and resource people.

THIS CONTRADICTION IS ILLUSTRATED BY lack of youth involvement; we have to have the initiative for youth to go out and get what we want for it's the youth who are going to make multiculturalism a reality. We have to help each other strive for unity.

PROPOSALS

Proposal 1: Multicultural Meetings

We, the Youth of Workshop II, propose the formation of the MYSC which is "Multicult Youth Social Club" which in the future shall be connected by a National Committee - with the information passed through the intercommunication among existing cultural groups. This shall involve cultural gatherings with a Canadian social format.

Such gatherings would be held approximately every six weeks with a different cultural host, sharing their cultural traditions. A

cultural kit with resource material shall be distributed through a proposed national youth council to facilitate mutual respect and awareness of different cultures.

Example: Ukrainian night: - ethnic foods
- dances from the cultural group
- a social game to involve everybody
- disco music

Proposal 2: Local Cultural Festivals

We, the Youth of Workshop II of the Third Multicultural Conference, in order to integrate cultural festivals, propose local cultural festivals through:

1. Two-day festival on a specific nationality's feast day, to be held in an already established building that has been converted to a multicultural centre.

2. Funding of festival will be provided by:

   1) Sponsorship of community organizations, business, individuals.
   2) Open door festival to everyone with a minimal charge for food, souvenirs and handwork.

3. Day events include:

   1) entertainment of dancing, singing by the ethnic group.
   2) pavilions set up with hobbies and native craftworks with workshop demonstrations.
   3) cultural contests and games
      example: Indians - axe-throwing contest

Mexican - pinata

4) skits depicting historical and ethnic traditions
   example: typical Ukrainian wedding.
5) film presentations of geography of country.
6) information booth with pamphlets, literature, schedule of events of festival.

4) Evening events:

1) traditional supper with short presentaion of different kinds of food and how to eat it the traditional way.
2) following a traditional dance display.
3) social dance including challenge dances.
   example: Greek balancing bottles on head while dancing: also mixed ethnic and modern dancing to appeal to all present.

Proposal 3: The Reality of Multiculturalism in Canadian Education

We, the Youth of Workshop II of the Conference on Multiculturalism, in order to introduce multiculturalism into the curriculum, propose to educate all students in the multicultural facets of Canada through:

1) appealing to various bodies for help in introducing multiculturalism to the school system - first to provincial departments of education, then to individual school boards through the student councils.

2) rewrite textbooks to show the multicultural lifestyle and history beginning at the primary level.

3) alter curriculum to include courses concerned with multiculturalism in Canada.

Example: At Lori MacDonald School in Leonard school division in Montreal. The school board has adapted texts concerning multiculturalism which are used in the history course. (Italian high school studies, Ukrainian history text)

4) to ensure the multicultural education of the teachers.

Proposal 4: Youth-Initiated Government Policies

We, the Youth of Workshop II of the 1978 Conference on Multiculturalism, in order to change government policy through organization of youth, propose:

1) permanent integration of youth input into the CCCM;

2) establishment of regional youth councils for multiculturalism;

3) lobbying for increased government support of educational, cultural, and social programs, particularly multicultural programs through the following recommendations:

   a) that at least one representative of youth and youth organizations be a member of each regional council of the CCCM and of the national council, and that this recommendation be implemented within one year;

   b) further that, where possible, the youth members in (a) above be community leaders who attended this conference and who are chosen in consultation with regional ethnic groups and with representatives of the youth who attended this conference;

c) and that this proposal be directly presented to the Minister of State - Multiculturalism, the Honourable Norman Cafik;

d) that the CCCM assist the young people who attended this conference in organization of regional meetings and standing councils;

e) that the CCCM, the youth delegates to this conference, and the youth organizations described above lobby members of Parliament and provincial MLA's through letters, petitions, and personal meetings, to increase government support of educational, cultural and social programs, particularly multicultural programs.

Proposal 5: Projecting Multicultural Outlook

We, the Youth of Workshop II (Youth Action), in order to project a multicultural outlook, propose high school writing competitions through the following institutions:

- Minister of Education
- school boards
- schools
- English departments

Purpose:

To create a competitive writing contest within high schools for the selection of two essays on a student's particular culture from each school which will be read at a regional level for the selection for a national reading of the papers. This will be done in both the September-December school season and in the January-April season. In the national readings, the committee will submit the selected papers for national publishing in the following magazines:

Canadian Magazine, Macleans and Chatelaine.

Final reading winners would be announced on a national television show with all the finalists being interviewed on that show.

Those who are not national winners but have regional and local acclaim will have their essays published in local papers and be interviewed on local television shows on proposed cable programming.

With the permission of regional school boards an appropriate day should be set for the selection of the papers and should be complemented by school activities relating to Multiculturalism in the following ways:

- historical essays
- cultural shows (at night)
- posters with slogans (i.e. Who are you?)
- brochures handed out on that day in reference to multiculturalism containing ideas for community development by the youth - e.g. how to utilize the local newspaper and all other media.

This would be showing the students that they have access to the media, for example, national cable programming. In addition, the national finalists' papers shall be printed and bound in a publication and made available to all schools in Canada.

Proposal 6: Promoting Cross-Cultural Awareness

We, the Youth of Workshop II of the Third Multiculturalism Conference, in order to have a better understanding of other cultures (such as traditions, language and lifestyles) that will lead to the reduction of prejudice and discrimination, propose that:

international and national exchange programs be conducted and workshops be set up allowing people to learn about each other's cultures.

We will do this through:

1) letting youth know through schools and community organizations that these exchange programs are available.

2) encouraging schools, organizations and the council to sponsor workshops in cooperation with youth groups across the country.

3) obtaining government financial assistance to sponsor national and international cross-cultural exchange programs.

4) publicizing existing travel programs through youth and community organizations and the council.

YOUTH WORKSHOP III

HUMAN RIGHTS

Resource Persons:
Mr. K. Jeganathan
Dr. Bruce McLeod
Mr. Mark Nakamura

Departmental Liaison:
Mr. Gil Scott

Workshop discussed many interesting ideas and finally classified points raised under four main headings:

Conflict of "Rights and Freedoms"
Barriers to "Rights and Freedoms"
Prejudice and Discrimination
Solutions (Recommendations)

Conflict of Rights and Freedoms

We recognize that there is a conflict between the rights of different classes of people in our society and the multicultural nature of our country contributes to this conflict.

This conflict can be explained as between groups and individuals; parents and children; different groups with separate demands; an electorate versus their elected representatives. Questions were raised as to how far any one group or individual can be allowed to exercise rights and freedoms. The answer given was that rights and freedoms can be pursued as long as it does not infringe on other peoples' rights and freedoms so there is need to maintain balance.

Barriers to Rights and Freedoms

We recognize two types of barriers
- attitude
- legal

Attitude (Prejudice and Discrimination)

History and tradition, effects of colonial oppression and exploitation over last few centuries all result in racism and prejudice being ingrained in the fabric of our society, and handed down from generation to generation.

Prejudice manifested in stereotyping becomes a major problem, dehumanizes its victims, thus making it easier for them to be deprived of their rights. The effect of stereotyping practised by teachers, parents, leaders of youth, etc. is a major danger and has an everlasting effect on children which can develop into deep-rooted prejudice in later life.

Unfavourable economic conditions often result in discriminatory practices and resort to racist propaganda. Immigrants and minority groups often blamed by the media, general public and even government officials as the cause of these conditions.

Cultural differences often equated to cultural superiority or inferiority.

Legal

We now know that there are laws and agencies to enforce laws against discrimination (e.g. human rights codes and human rights commissions) but these laws sometimes become barriers in themselves. Examples:

a) We observe that most Canadians are ignorant of our human rights and freedoms, and so become victims of many unjust and discriminatory acts needlessly. We accept that the individual has a responsibilty to become aware of his/her rights but it is also the duty of governments to ensure that these rights are both adequately advertised and explained. Availability of information is not widely known.

b) We feel that within our present legal system the laws affecting human rights are not applied and enforced consistently; they are too susceptible to a variety of interpretations.

c) The human element is importrant. People who apply our legal system are human and therefore are subject to prejudice which might affect their judgement. This problem could be present at any level including police, judges, probation officers, and so forth.

Solutions (Recommendations)

It is our conviction that in order for Multiculturalism to work in practice, there must be some integration of the social classes.

Beyond that, we feel that the real solution lies in Education. Specifically:

- The victims of prejudice and discrimination must be re-educated to combat the miseducation to which they were subjected.

- Society in general must be educated to respect everyone's rights.

- This education process must begin at the earliest stages of schooling to prevent prejudices from developing.

In addition:

- We feel that human rights commissions which now exist should have more of an advisory role in human rights matters;

- We also feel that these commissions should be allowed more resources to expand their services. One such expansion should be the hiring of people who can act as liaison between the various ethnic groups.

- We strongly recommend that the Canadian Bill of Rights be incorporated in the constitution of this country to ensure proper protection for peoples of all ethnic backgrounds.

Finally the selection of personnel to enforce our laws should include careful testing for prejudice and discriminatory biases. When such biases are found to exist there should be adequate recourse to remove them.

In conclusion, you may all wonder what do all the above points and the resulting recommendations have to do with multiculturalism. You may well ask how do human rights relate to multiculturalism. We pondered this ourselves and concluded that multiculturalism as a concept and policy is meaningless unless one's basic human rights are fully secured.

YOUTH WORKSHOP IV

CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS

Resource Persons:
Mr. J.P. Gagnon

Departmental Liaison:
Ms Jacqueline Briscoe
Mr. Ralph Friesen
Mr. Bob Mitchell

As delegates attending the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism Conference you had hoped that we, the youth, would have a few new ideas. When we listen to delegates presenting their own briefs we hear: "I feel..., Multiculturalism is ...,"our cultural group sees it this way ..." We have taken it upon ourselves to change this way of thinking by putting a few resolutions through to you not to be implemented by the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism alone. This report will show how we plan to implement some of these resolutions ourselves.

These are the problems that we have "experienced" and what we think are feasible solutions to the problems:

1. Public awareness of other cultures
   - public awareness of other cultures is the basic problem which encompasses all other ones. The creation of regional youth councils would be helpful in creating a communication medium between the different youth groups.

   - in order to achieve public awareness we should use all possible methods to inform and establish a meaningful dialogue with cultural groups.

2. Media involvement

   - all possible media should be used to promote the reality of

multiculturalism: neighbourhood newspapers, radio and television - including community channels. These programs should be attractive in that they will sustain interest and also give an accurate presentation of different cultures.

- we should hold a publicity campaign on multiculturalism to make the population more aware of the existence of such diversities.

3. Stereotyping

- we should establish a process by which we will ensure accurate representation of ethnic groups. The continuation and expansion of cultural exchange programs should be encouraged and developed.

4. Government funding

- the government should make a point of equalizing funding to the different cultural groups according to size and needs.

5. Consistency of government policy

- the governmental policies should be more stable and consistent than they are presently and should not fluctuate according to the political climate

6. Common denominator

- in seeking a common denominator, we should strive to reinforce our Canadian element as a base for interaction.

7. Attitude and role of community leaders

   - youth participation should be accepted as an integral part of the decision making of community policies.

8. Prejudices

   - it is hoped that youth participation in the community will help reduce and eventually eliminate social prejudices against other ethnocultural groups.

YOUTH WORKSHOP V

HERITAGE LANGUAGES

Resource Persons:
Mrs. Bohdanna Horich-Cmoc
Mr. Jesse Flis

Departmental Liaison:
Mr. Mike Richardson
Mr. Gerald Kretzel

We have been invited to attend this conference as representatives and leaders of our communities. Considerable funds, time and effort have been spent on bringing us together and probably too little time allotted for us to get to the roots of many of the things which plague our society - the archaic attitudes, the stereotypic perceptions, the imposition of second class attitudes on many of us, or certainly on our forefathers, and anglicization of our institutions.

Suffice it to say that with the very limited time, we are unable to present to you a refined document, quoting research studies supporting some of our principal points. However, in the field of languages and language education, all studies indicate that language acquisition involves time, that is, the more time one is exposed to and immersed in a language the greater the possibility of retention. From our group of 22, the level of fluency in Canadian heritage languages varied. Those that could study in the second language at home or abroad and/or those who used the second language as almost the sole language of communication in the home, those recent immigrants and first generation Canadians obviously were more fluent in Canada's heritage languages but all of us from first to third generation Canadians wanted to be reasonably fluent in a heritage language and other Canadian heritage languages.

Our group has arrived at a consensus that languages are important for multiculturalism. We are officially bilingual and officially

multicultural. If, however, language is the key to culture, music, art and literature, to the feelings and actions, the attitudes and values of the culture we represent, then what must be envisaged is a multilingual nation.

Canada is not officially multilingual, and naturally cannot be expected to become so, for it is not really necessary, or even possible, to have traffic signs, food packaging and government services in every language spoken in the country.

It is, however, possible for every language to be recognized and respected.

We support French-English bilingual education and resolve that all students graduating from high school reach a reasonable level of fluency in French and English. But moreover, we believe that bilingualism in Canada today is our right - not just our privilege, and insist that a meeting of the federal government and ministry of education be called to make bilingual education and the heritage language possible at the elementary school level.

Research indicated that a child who succeeds at becoming bilingual at an early age before ethnocentric prejudices are established may avoid problems that his elders face, that bilingual children have increased cognitive abilities, intellectual potential and a more stable self-image, and open-minded attitudes.

What we are requesting is widespread bilingual education at the elementary school level in heritage languages. You are probably asking: Isn't this too costly to implement? Do we have qualified teachers, and sufficient materials? Yes ...

If this is so, then, as the future leaders of a country we consider

to be among the best in the world, we expect and demand the rights to be educated bilingually. We demand that provincial departments of education in Canada begin to implement such programs as soon as possible.

A dominant theme throughout many of our discussions was the negative attitude prevalent in society and the lack of understanding and information about what multiculturalism really is. We ask the public for recognition and the right to live multiculturally and multilingually in Canada.

So long as the heritage languages remain recognized only as after-school or Saturday programs and non-credit programs, they cannot hope to be legitimized. They must enter the mainstream of Canadian society.

The realities of Canada are:

> an anglicization and Americanization of our society meaning a bombardment of English language in the newpaper, on TV, the radio, and in the predominant business institutions. But these forces need not work against us. Increased aid to the ethnic press, multilingual broadcasting on CBC and cable stations, and funding for multilingual radio stations would help legitimize the use of the heritage languages in Canada. We also feel that the CRTC should cease recognition of American cable stations.
>
> Because recognition of heritage languages and multiculturalism requires this legitimization, it also enters other aspects of society. In the area of education and curriculum development, more Canadian content must be viewed as the core and compulsory subjects. Textbooks must reflect the different life-styles of immigrants, our fathers and forefathers. They

must better acquaint us with regional differences. The experience of this conference has opened all of our eyes, but its greatest impact has been only on the participants. We must reach out to the many millions in our society.

Our education system must also respond to the adult sector of our society. It must offer programs for their linguistic and cultural enrichment. Parents must develop pride and respect for their own cultural roots if they are to pass these values on to their own children.

The Multiculturalism Directorate should produce advertisements to increase public awareness of the importance of multiculturalism, following the example of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, among others. Articles should also be written, not only to promote our multicultural nation's wealth of culture, folklore and art but also to dispel certain myths and false impressions and point out how all of Canada's ethnic groups contribute to Canadian society.

Efforts must be made to publicly address the issues of multiculturalism. We urge local CCCM delegates and youth to take up talk-shows on TV and radio, particularly the phone-in type, to sensitize and inform the public about heritage languages, bilingualism, cultural awareness, immigration, human rights, education and multiculturalism, etc. Furthermore, conferences and workshops on multiculturalism must include a cross-section of society - members of the legal, medical, business professions must be equally represented.

It is one thing to say that bilingual programs should be available to the public and another to motivate parents to enrol their children in such programs.

The motivation will come when parents recognize the advantages which a bilingual education (whatever the combination of languages involved) will confer on their children, especially when they attend a university requiring a second language.

In addition, federal and provincial funding for all programs in multiculturalism sections should be increased.

We must continue to recognize rural, urban and regional differences and make special resources available to the more isolated ethnic groups, who due to their numbers cannot hope at present for bilingual public schooling in a heritage language. Priorities must focus on programs which improve language fluency of the teacher, methodology and the development of materials on Canadian themes. Furthermore, since languages are essential to understanding culture, and to a decent liberal education, the percentage of multicultural funds which are directed toward the development of heritage language programs and the services essential to their maintenance must receive a greater piece of the pie.

We urge that special bursaries and scholarships be made readily available to promising language students on entrance to the universities to encourage them to study languages in order to form a pool of language specialists in all Canada's languages.

It is obvious from the cost of this conference that it is not a political manoeuvre. We have come from far away to bring important problems before Canadian society and propose solutions and resolutions to make our Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the American border to the Arctic, a strong, rich, united country.

In line with the motto "no particiption without representation"?

Be it resolved that the youth of Canada be represented at all regional levels and the national level of the CCCM as full-fledged members.

We do not see national unity as a problem - however, a lack of communication between ethnic groups and regions is a problem. A grouping or means of sharing our languages and cultures with other Canadians is needed - and particularly for the anglophone element of society.

And since many of the problems our communities and organizations face are the same, it is essential that youth from across Canada enter a constant pattern of communication. We would suggest that groups send in their newsletters or news announcements to our youth delegates to the CCCM so that they can take this project on as their first assignment.

APPENDIX

PRESENTATIONS MADE TO THE THIRD CANADIAN CONFERENCE ON MULTICULTURALISM

Texts will be made available upon request to the CCCM Secretariat, Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, K1A 0M5, telephone: (819) 994-2044.

Speech delivered on Saturday, October 28, 1978

by - Mr. Charles V. Keating, Chairman
Canadian Cable Television Association

Briefs entitled "Multiculturalism in the Next Five Years"
presented
by - Mr. Walter Pint
Baltic Federation in Canada
- Dr. James Peters
Canadian Arab Federation
- Mr. Harry Daniels
Native Council of Canada
- Mr. Serge Radchuk
Ukrainian Canadian Committee
- Dr. Wladyslaw Gertler
Canadian Polish Congress
- Mr. William Janzen
Mennonite Central Committee
- Mr. Navin Parekh
National Association of Canadians of Origins in India

- Dr. Wilson Head
  National Black Coalition of Canada
- Dr. Laureano Leone
  National Congress of Italian Canadians
- Mrs. Addie Kobayashi
  National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association
- Mr. David Satok
  Canadian Jewish Congress

PRESENTATIONS TO COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOPS

Intercultural Exhchange - A Key to Unity

- "The Resurgence of Ethnicity"
  Mr. J.S. Frideres
- "Unity in Diversity/Intercultural Exchange"
  Mr. C.A. Taylor

The Future of Ethnocultural Organizations in Canada

- "Strategies for gaining access to the private sector"
  Mr. R. Terrence Mactaggart

Human Rights and Race Relations in Canada

- Ms. Suzanne Blais-Grenier
- Ms. Jacqueline Jean-Baptiste
- "Majority Culture Perceptions of Visible Minorities and Recommended Strategies for Change"
  Mr. John Kehoe

- "Racism: Myths and Realities"
  Ms. Joya Sen
- Mrs. Margaret Strongitharm
- "Human Rights in Ontario - Historical Overview"
  Mr. Bhausaheb Ubale, Ph.D.
- "Asian Canadian Minorities and Multiculturalism: Perceptions and Strategies for Planned Social Change"
  Professor K. Victor Ujimoto

Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity

- "The Need for Legislation"
  Mr. John Vojtech Stephens, Q.C.

PRESENTATIONS TO YOUTH WORKSHOPS

Youth Action in Multiculturalism

- Mr. Kenneth Fisher

Human Rights

- Mr. K. Jeganathan

Cross-Cultural Awareness

- Mr. Jean-Paul Gagnon

Heritage Languages

- Mrs. Bohdanna Horich-Cmoc

REPORTS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS' WORKSHOPS

REPORTS OF YOUTH WORKSHOPS